The Catholic Historical Review

Volume XXXIII JULY, 1947 No. 2

THE FIRST FACULTY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

By

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THE recent book of John Tracy Ellis[1] traced the history of the Catholic University of America from the conception of the idea until its birth on November 13, 1889. In this volume a prominent place was given to John Joseph Keane, Bishop of Richmond, who was chosen the first rector on May 12, 1886, at the seventh meeting of the Board of Trustees.[2] When the choice of the board was announced to the bishop, he protested that he was "utterly unfit, by education and by inclination, to be at the head of a house of study and, still more, to organize a university."[3] Despite these protests, he was prevailed upon to accept the position and to equip himself for the important task. In order to acquaint himself thoroughly with the organization and direction of a university, he visited the principal Catholic and non-Catholic universities here and abroad and held conferences with their directors as well as with other men prominent in the field of education.

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[1] John Tracy Ellis, *The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* (Washington, 1946).

[2] Archives of the Catholic University of America. These archives will hereafter be referred to as ACUA. Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees. These minutes will hereafter be referred to as MMBT. Baltimore, May 12, 1886, p. 15.

[3] ACUA, "Chronicles of the Catholic University of America from 1885," p. 8. This document will hereafter be referred to as "Chronicles." It is a sixty-two page document written in a record book in Keane's hand. The pagination begins with three and ends with sixty-four. Between pages sixty-four and sixty-five there is a supplement consisting of a loose letter written by Keane from San José, California, on October 25, 1896. Ellis referred to this document as the Keane Memorial.

It was the aim of Bishop Keane, as well as those who wholeheartedly worked for the success of the new university, to make the Catholic University of America one of the best universities in the world. An indispensable factor to the realization of this aim was a corps of professors with proven ability and outstanding reputations for scholarship. Letters that have been brought to light since the publication of Ellis' book give us a clearer picture of Keane's thorough search for the very best talent that was available at the time.

At the very beginning, Keane was aware of the difficult nature of the work which lay before him. There were very few university-trained priests in the United States in the 1880's, and those who had university training did not have a reputation sufficient to warrant an invitation to join the faculty of an institution of higher studies that was founded to present the best in Catholic scholarship. Had Keane been tempted to lose sight of this point there were those who were ready to remind him of it. In a letter to Michael A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York, Father Robert Fulton, S.J., provincial of the New York-Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, who had vigorously opposed the university plan at the Third Plenary Council,[4] had this to say:

> With regard to the *personnel,* as far as I can forecast it, there will be no one who has had experience, no traditions, no bond of unity. The professors will probably be drawn from various countries. What guarantee will there be of unity, or even of orthodoxy of doctrine? Which is the reason why the Catholic University course in England and Ireland had failed? [*sic*] Why so many Colleges in the U. S.?[5]

The secular press carried similar stories about the obstacles to be met

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[4] Ellis, *op. cit.,* pp. 103-108.

[5] New York Archdiocesan Archives, C-8. These archives will hereafter be referred to as NYAA. Robert Fulton, S.J., to M. A. Corrigan, New York, September 17, 1886.

and they stressed particularly the desirability of having the university staffed with American professors. The difficulties were so persistently aired that Keane felt obliged to answer his critics in an article in the *Catholic World* written in the form of a conversation between himself and some men he met on a train:

> "I notice," put in Mr. G———, "that your critics doubt whether you will be able, for many a year to come, to bring together a body of distinguished professors in America."
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> Yes, I answered; we are blessed with a few croaking friends, who will not let us lose sight of the difficulties to be overcome. And this is assuredly not a small one, nor has it been overlooked. For a few years, of course, we will have to look abroad for most of our professors, and we find already that there is no dearth of men of learning and renown willing to unite their lives with such a work in our young republic.[6]

He also informed the public through the pages of the *Catholic American:*

> It is the desire of the Board of Directors as well as the wish of the Pope that the corps of professors shall be made up of American talent. That will not be practicable at first, but it will be carried out as soon as possible. . . . As fast as we can find Americans of the necessary calibre to fill the professorships they will be appointed. But for the beginning of the work of instruction the experience of European teachers will have to be depended upon. Owing to the lack of thorough university training in our country hitherto, competent instructors are scarce in the United States.[7]

In order to emphasize the plan to make the Catholic University of America a thoroughly American institution entirely free from any foreign domination, Keane quoted the Pope as saying:

> I wish that it [the Catholic University of America] should be founded by American means, and that it should be conducted by American brains; and if at first you have to call in the help of foreign talent in your faculties, it must be with a view of developing home intellect, of training professors who will gradually form indigenous faculties worthy of the name the university bears.[8]

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[6] John J. Keane, "A Chat about the Catholic University," *Catholic World,* XLVIII (November, 1888), 217.

[7] *Catholic American* (New York), November 24, 1888.

[8] John J. Keane, "Leo XIII and the Catholic University," *Catholic World,* XLVI (November, 1887), 150.

Keane, therefore, cognizant of the difficulties and of his obligations, took advantage of every opportunity to make personal contact with capable men on European faculties, and he enlisted the aid of others, whose judgment he respected, to evaluate their desirability for the theological faculty. At the same time he scanned the American scene for men of known ability who could be adequately trained by spending some years in Europe and who would eventually replace the European professors who were to be engaged temporarily.

In the fall of 1886, Bishop Keane went to Rome with John Ireland, Bishop of St. Paul, to carry out the commission of the Board of Trustees of the university to obtain Leo XIII's solemn approval of the establishment of the university and the appointment of Keane as first rector. This petition was finally granted on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1887, after many months of anxious waiting. While in Rome, Keane became acquainted with Father Henri Hyvernat, professor of oriental languages and biblical archaeology in the Apollinare, whom he described "as one of the most eminent Egyptologists in the world" and "a disciple of the celebrated Vigoroux [*sic*] of Paris." Keane had first approached the famous scripture scholar, Abbé Fulcran Vigouroux, S.S., in the hope of obtaining him for the university but Vigouroux suggested that the rector contact his former student, Henri Hyvernat.[9] Keane was so impressed with the young man that he entered a conditional contract with him, which was ratified by the board, and so "he was the first professor chosen for the Catholic University of America."[10]

During this same visit to Rome the Pope recommended Father Edward A. Pace, a young priest of the Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida,[11] who had graduated in Rome with exceptional honors and who had been encouraged by the Holy Father to continue his studies in the hope of one day being "a professor in the great university to be established at Washington."[12] Thus when Keane and Ireland reported to the Board of Trustees on their trip to Rome they could truthfully say "when the proper time comes, a faculty of Divinity can be brought together that will reflect honor on the University."[13]

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[9] Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 350 n. Fulcran Vigouroux (1837-1915) was professor of scripture at the Seminary of St. Sulpice from 1868 until 1890. Cf. L. Dürr, "Fulcran Vigouroux," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, X, 611-612.

[10] ACUA, "Chronicles," p. 38. Monsignor James A. Corcoran, of Philadelphia, "was the very first that was asked to join in the faculty. After mature deliberation he declined on account of his age and indifferent health." *Church News* (Washington), May 19, 1889. John Gilmary Shea expected to be asked to take a place on the original faculty. Peter Guilday, "John Gilmary Shea," *Historical Records and Studies, XVII* (July, 1926), 122-123.

[11] *Church News* (Washington), May 12, 1889.

Shortly after Keane had returned to America he began his campaign to acquire the services of the young Florida priest who had been so highly recommended to him while in Rome. He wrote to Pace:

> I have known you so long and intimately by reputation, & especially since my recent sojourn in Rome, that I feel as if writing to an old friend. . . .
>
> Let me take this opportunity to tell you of the hope in my heart that you will yet be working with me in the Catholic University of America. This is the desire of Prof. Satolli and of the Pope as well as myself. Your good Bishop's need of you is the great obstacle,—for I hope that your desires also would run in that direction. If the Bp. could allow it, my desire w'd be that you should be free for the next two years to perfect your studies in Rome, Louvain, & elsewhere.[14]

Pace's answer was reassuring to the rector's hopes and on October 15, 1887, Keane wrote:

> Thanks be to God that your heart is in the University work. May he grant that we may pull together to get it through. Pray hard, and *pull every wire*—and we will do what we can for the same end.[15]

Yet Keane was right in judging that there would be an obstacle in the objection of Bishop John Moore of St. Augustine. Keane told Pace, "Bishop Moore wrote to me . . . . that nothing short of a command from the Pope, & then with the loan of a good priest to take your place, would induce him to give you up."[16] It was now time to

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[12] John J. Keane, "Leo XIII and the Catholic University," *Catholic World*, XLVI (November, 1897), 150.

[13] ACUA, "Report of Ireland & Keane to Trustees of the University on Their Mission to Rome," p. 8. This is an eleven page typewritten report signed by Ireland and Keane and dated September 7, 1887.

[14] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Winchester, Virginia, September 28, 1887.

[15] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Richmond, October 15, 1887.

[16] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Richmond, January 9, 1888.

"pray hard and pull every wire" to bring about Pace's release for further study. However, a command from the Pope did not prove necessary, for John Moore was satisfied with a priest to replace Pace, and he wrote to that effect to Denis J. O'Connell, rector of the North American College in Rome, "Bp. Keane has promised me the loan of a priest to take Pace's place. I am willing to let him go; I have reason to believe that he will do better work at teaching than he is likely to do on the missions."[17] Keane joyfully communicated the news to Pace and asked him to come to Richmond for an interview.[18] This conference culminated in final arrangements for Edward Pace to pursue philosophical and scientific studies in Europe and he set out soon thereafter to accomplish this purpose.[19] After arriving in Europe Pace sent Bishop Keane a letter containing information about university organization for which Keane was very grateful and he asked the young priest to obtain all the information that he could possibly get "especially as to the best method of having the Faculty of Philosophy & Letters grow out of the Fac. of Theology."[20]

Although Keane welcomed all the information on university organization that Father Pace could obtain and, too, depended on him for information concerning the availability and merits of prospective professors during the next few years, he was primarily interested in equipping Pace for his future position in a school of philosophy at the university and with that in view he instructed him:

> But I trust that you understand clearly that that [acquiring information on university organization] is not the main object of your time in Europe.

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[17] Richmond Diocesan Archives. These archives will hereafter be referred to as RDA. John Moore to D. J. O'Connell, St. Augustine, Florida, February 22, 1888.

[18] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Richmond, March 5, 1888.

[19] ACUA, MMBT, Washington, May 24, 1888, p. 20. At this meeting Keane was empowered to defray the expenses of Pace "now in Europe preparing to fill the chair of philosophy." He was also empowered to advance funds to Dr. Hyvernat "now in the East prosecuting studies preparatory to taking the chair of Scripture Exegesis." The Boston *Pilot* reported an interview with Professor Hyvernat by P. L. Connellan, their Roman correspondent, with the Roman date line of May 17: "Prof Hyvernat . . . has returned to Rome after an absence of eleven months in Oriental lands" (June 15, 1889).

[20] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Worcester, July 14, 1888.

> It is to become acquainted with the *studies* necessary for a judicious and useful teaching of Philosophy in our day, specially in view of the scientific advances & false theorizing of our days.[21]

At the same time Keane advised young Pace to take every advantage of the freedom given him to pursue his scientific and philosophical studies in the most noted place for each discipline. Although Francesco Satolli, the celebrated professor of dogmatic theology in the College of the Propaganda and in the Roman Seminary who gave invaluable aid to Bishop Keane while he was seeking a corps of professors, was anxious for Pace to spend some time in Rome "so as to be replenished with true Thomism," the rector did not have the same anxiety.[22]

While Keane was carrying on the negotiations for obtaining the release of Pace, he was also corresponding with a number of European professors to ascertain their availability for the projected university and to receive their recommendations as to the availability and special qualities of some of their colleagues. After Pace had arrived in Louvain, Keane wrote him:

> As you go about, there are certain persons I wish you could meet and "take the measure of," who have been recommended as Professors. They are: 1. Prof. Pergens, of Louvain, zoologist and paleontologist, recommended by Mgr. Mercier—I do not see what we can have for his specialty for a long time to come. But try to see him and weigh him. 2. M. l'abbé Piat, agrégé de Philosophie of the University of France, strongly recommended by Mgr. d'Hulst, Rector of the Catholic University or Institut of Paris. He speaks of him as a wonder of talent and Philosophical erudition, and says he has lately been studying in Munich, to perfect himself in German. . . . 3. Rev. Dr. Pohle, one of the editors of the philosophical quarterly in Fulda. 5. Rev. Dr. Felten, Professor at Bonn. 6. I heartily hope that you may happen to get to Innsbruck, so as to see Professor Pastor and Bickel [*sic*]. With the former, a layman, we have had some preliminary correspondence, for Ecclesiastical History. The latter is a very celebrated Orientalist, and I am anxious to know whether he would entertain the

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[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.* Francesco Satolli (1839-1910) was called to Rome by Leo XIII in 1880. He was appointed professor of dogmatic theology in the Propaganda and (1882) in the Roman Seminary, rector of the Greek College (1884), president of the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici (1886), and Archbishop of Lepanto (1888). Cf. Edward A. Pace, "Francesco Satolli," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* XIII, 486.

> thought of coming to America.—Any information that you can find about any of these persons would be most welcome,—but I don't wish you to go out of your way for it.[22a]

This was an impressive array of talent to survey, erudite men all, but future events proved that few of them were destined to share their fate with the new university.

The rector spent the summer of 1888 in the New England states canvassing for the university. Cardinal Gibbons, the chancellor of the university, had advised Keane to seek a good vice-rector while he was making this tour. Priests and bishops in the New England states strongly recommended Philip J. Garrigan, then pastor of St. Bernard's Church at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, in the Diocese of Springfield.[23] Previous to his appointment to this parish, Garrigan had been the rector of St. Joseph's Seminary at Troy, New York. This "model priest, polished gentleman, earnest student, excellent administrator,"[24] was proposed to the Board of Trustees by letter and their vote for him was unanimous.[25]

At the meeting of the trustees of the University held on November 13, 1888, Keane requested and received authorization to go to Europe and to "meet personally those who were to be invited to professorial Chairs" and "make contracts with professors." The Board limited him to the selection of "not more than six professors including a professor of English Literature."[26] Thus armed with letters to Leo XIII and Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, signed by the members of the board asking the necessary approval of the statutes of the university, and with the authorization to make contracts with professors, John Keane sailed for Europe on November 17. He was accompanied by Thomas J. Shahan, who had obtained the permission of his bishop to accept the offer of the board to prepare himself for the chair of canon law by spending some time in Europe in further study.[27] At the time he accepted this invitation Shahan was chancellor of the Diocese of Hartford, a position he had filled for several years after graduating in Rome. After a time in Europe, Shahan decided upon the study of church history rather than canon law and he ultimately returned to the university in 1891 and began his teaching at Washington in that field.[28]

[22a] *Ibid.* Ludwig von Pastor (1854-1928). Cf. I. Ph. Dengel, "Ludwig von Pastor," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* VII, 1018-1020. Gustav Bickell (1838-1906) taught at Innsbruck from 1874 to 1892. Cf. A. Merk, "Gustav Bickell," *Lexikon für Theologie and Kirche,* II, 342.

[23] ACUA, "Chronicles," p. 27. Garrigan was "just past forty;" he studied at Troy semniary and was ordained in 1869; during the years 1873-1876 he had been rector at Troy; 1876-1888, pastor of St. Bernard's Church at Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Cf. Charles G. Herbermann, "The Faculty of the Catholic University," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XIV (October, 1889), 703-704.

[24] NYAA, I-4, John J. Keane to Jno. M. Farley, Notre Dame, August 18, 1888.

[25] ACUA, MMBT, Baltimore, November 13, 1888, p. 22.

[26] *Ibid.,* pp. 22-25.

When Bishop Keane arrived in Europe, he stopped at the Sulpician seminary at Issy, in the suburbs of Paris, where he said that he was "going to use his persuasion to engage the Père Lepidi."[29] However, he found later that "Satolli & others say Lepidi *wont do,*"[30] so he searched elsewhere for his dogma professor. It was the rector's intention to visit other institutions of higher learning before going on to Rome, but a letter from Monsignor O'Connell caused him to change his plans and hasten to Rome to meet Archibishop Patrick W. Riordan of San Francisco and Bishop Camillus P. Maes of Covington who were then in the Eternal City.[31] There followed a number of months of anxious waiting before the statutes of the university were finally approved. They were days enlivened by the presence of Bernard J. McQuaid, Bishop of Rochester, who wrote his metropolitan, Archbishop Corrigan of New York, "I have had great fun about the University."[32] In another letter to Corrigan, it was evident that the enlistment of a suitable faculty for the university was one of the sources of amusement:

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[27] RDA, John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Baltimore, November 2 [1888]. The board stipulated that Shahan was not to receive over $700.00 for expenses. ACUA, MMBT, Baltimore, November 13, 1888, p. 24.

[28] ACUA, "Chronicles," p. 39.

[29] James Driscoll to Henri Hyvernat, Issy, November 29, 1888, cited by Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 350 n. Maria Alberto Lepidi, O.P., was one of the writers who inaugurated the neo-scholastic movement in Belgium.

[30] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, January 11, 1889.

[31] Baltimore Cathedral Archives, 85-L-9. These archives will hereafter be referred to as BCA. John J. Keane to James Gibbons, Rome, December 18, 1888.

[32] NYAA, C-16, Bernard J. McQuaid to M. A. Corrigan, Rome, February 20, 1888.

> With Dr. Keane I allude to it [the university] only in a joking way, as for example, when I suggest Lambert as a Prof. of Cont: Theol: [*sic*] in the university, and Quigley of Toledo, and Smith of New Jersey and Burtsell as adjunct Professors of Canon Law, under Dr. Shahan.[33]

Keane meanwhile mistakingly judged that the interest of McQuaid, even in a "joking way," was a sign of more amicable relations between Rochester and Washington.[34]

When Keane and Ireland were in Rome in the winter of 1886-1887, the Holy Father had advised them to confer with Professor Désiré Mercier,[35] whom the Pope had invited to Rome to expound his views concerning the adaptation of philosophical studies to the special needs of the times.[36] The American bishops heeded this advice and on their return to the United States they reported to the Board of Trustees that "there is reason to believe that, in the frequent conversations held with the eminent professor, his friendly sympathy, advice and co-operation have been permanently secured for our enterprise."[37] When Keane arrived in Rome for the second time in the fall of 1888 he again found Mercier there. This time Mercier was making a strong plea for the establishment of a philosophical institute at the University of Louvain without any apparent success. Keane saw the possibilities in Mercier's plight and he was quick to make overtures to him. In a letter to Pace on December 21, 1888, he said:

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[33] NYAA, C-16, Bernard J. McQuaid to M. A. Corrigan, Rome, February 16, 1889. All the men referred to had had difficulties with their bishops.

[34] BCA, 85-P-9, John J. Keane to James Gibbons, Rome, January 22, 1889.

[35] Désiré Mercier (1851-1926) was appointed professor of thomistic philosophy at Louvain July 29, 1882. Leo's brief of November, 1889, had founded Mercier's school at Louvain; another in 1894 established it as an integral part of the university under the name of the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie ou l'École Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, and named Mercier as its first president; Archbishop of Malines, 1907; a Cardinal priest, 1907. Cf. John A. Gade, *The Life of Cardinal Mercier* (New York, 1935).

[36] ACUA, "Report of Ireland & Keane to Trustees of the University on Their Mission to Rome, p. 7. Cf. John J. Keane ,"Leo XIII and the Catholic University," *Catholic World,* XLVI (November, 1887), 152.

[37] ACUA, "Report of Ireland & Keane," p. 8.

> I am praying that there may be a Providence in the refusal of the Belgian Bps. to enter into Mgr. Mercier's plan. It was quasi-understood between him and me here in Rome that if he could not carry out his plan in Louvain, he would be willing to come to America. *I want him above all men.* There he could have *carte blanche,* to do all that the materials furnished by Providence will make practicable. For some years, he would have only the a b c of his plan—but surely we may hope that God's blessing would make it realizable by degrees. Talk it over with him as you judge prudent. I have written Bp. Maes to do the same when he gets to Louvain—and when I learn that it may be some use to go at it more plainly, I will rejoice to do so.[38]

It was not long before the time came "to go at it more plainly." Three weeks later the rector of the university told Pace:

> I yesterday rec'd a letter from Mgr. Mercier, & I have just written a reply showing the impossibility of getting anything from the Holy Father that w'd be a *practical* furtherance of his plan at Louvain. Then I plainly invited & urged him to come to us—explaining that for a couple of years he would be one of the Faculty of Theology, giving a course of Thomistic Philosophy answering the questions of the day, & having only a few ecclesiastical students; but that we would then, please God, organize our Faculty of Philosophy & Letters (as described vaguely in my article on Louvain in Cath. World) which could be organized according to his ideas of a Philosophical Institute, and there would be his field. There would then be lay as well as clerical students, & we would hope for constantly increasing numbers. And starting with the sciences in their connection with philosophy, we could gradually branch out into scientific studies of the highest order.—Here is evidently the field of such a man as Mercier. Talk him into it. Get him willing to begin as a pioneer with little or nothing, & to create.[39]

Mercier was tenacious in his resolve to do everything possible to carry out his plan at Louvain, and Keane, although very desirous of having him for his own university, gave him whatever aid he could:

> Mgr. Mercier still clings to Louvain. I can do nothing to help him here. I will write him in that sense in a day or two. I still pray he may have courage and disinterestedness to come to us & *make a beginning* for the sake of Church and truth. Satolli says it is folly to hope to use the Pope as it were to coerce the Bps. The Bps. must be converted first, and he will never do it. He must give up and come with us or be content to grow at a snail's pace where he is. Push him still towards America.[40]

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[38] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, December 21, 1888.

[39] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, January 11, 1889.

[40] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, February 8, 1889.

Pushing did not cause Mercier to lose his balance. Although Keane's letters convinced him that there was little hope of obtaining the aid necessary to make his plans for a philosophical institute at Louvain a reality and although Keane's offer was attractive, he still remained cautious:

> It seems to become clear that this school [a school of philosophy responding to the aspirations and needs of the age] has little chance of being founded here and your Grace offers me the opportunity to undertake it on a virgin soil with so much generosity and noble largess: I declare it is tempting.
>
> However, Monsignor, the matter is so grave, it has so many different aspects, that *I would not wish to take any engagement at the present.* I desire to work for the purpose of clarifying the situation while reserving my definite judgment.[41]

At the same time Mercier was weakening and beginning to think in terms of coming to America. With this in view he sounded out Keane on the conditions under which he would begin his new work in the United States:

> In the first place, I would like to be sure that His Holiness would leave me free in case I should decide to go to America. Perhaps Your Excellency can guess what the Holy Father's dispositions will be. I cannot give up the position His Holiness gave me without his consent. It would be going against my conscience.
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> In the second place, I would insist that I be not the only one in charge of the heavy task of teaching philosophy. When I had the honor of conferring with the Holy Father about the establishment of a School of Philosophy at Louvain, I said I was acquainted with a man whose help would be of great value for the work and whose collaboration to me seemed *indispensable*. It is the Reverend DeSan, of the Society of Jesus. There is no one equal to him when it comes to keenness of mind, scholarship in philosophy, extensive knowledge of mathematics and of science. He had, after some hesitation, accepted, and the Provincial in Belgium had promised to give his approval for the entrance into the Institute of Louvain. But no one here knows anything about those negotiations. Do you think his nomination would be authorized by the Superior General of the Society and favorably received by the American bishops? These two warrents [*sic*] having been obtained, there would still remain to be clarified a few less important points, for example, the official title and role which could be

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[41] ACUA, D. Mercier to John J. Keane, Louvain, March 21, 1889 (French).

> assigned to me that I might organize the School of Philosophy without offending anybody and without having to fear an overthrowing on the day when, quod Deus avertat, a rector "qui non cognosceret Joseph" would appear; the certainty of an allowance in case of unfitness, sickness, failure, etc., so as to prevent my having to fall back on my family or become a burden to the ordinary of the diocese I left; the consent of the episcopal council of Belgium or at least the absence of formal opposition from it. These are, Your Excellency, the principal questions which an initial consideration suggests. I submit them to Your Excellency with a view to becoming well informed on the import of the obligation asked of me. When you visit Belgium, we will be able to examine them at leisure.
>
> Be that as it may; whether I follow Your Excellency to Washington or decide not to leave my country, I will always be happy to offer my little services. . . .
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> What tempts me most, deep down in my heart, about this whole noble project, Monsignor, is to know that I will have to work with a man who scorns the paltry narrowness of our old Europe and who knows how to seek heartily and perseveringly the scientific ascendancy of the Church and the welfare of the leading classes of society.
>
> May the Lord bless your work, Monsignor, and make it fruitful. May He enlighten me as to His Holy Will concerning me and give me strength to accomplish it resolutely or patiently as soon as it is known.[42]

Although Mercier was tending more and more to look to America and the Catholic University of America as a fitting place to carry out his plans for a philosophical institute, he retained his determination to exhaust every possibility for bringing his plan to perfection in Belgium with the aid of the Belgium bishops. The decision was finally made for him. He wrote to Pace on July 8:

> You were very kind in telling me that it would have been a great pleasure for you to have me as a companion of labor at Washington; as far as the matter concerned my person, I had really no objection to the plan, but as you may know perhaps, the Holy Father, had better me to stay here [*sic*]. I obeyed, still ready to go everywhere His Sanctity would prefer afterwards.[43]

Thus it was that Keane's hopes were shattered and the university was denied the services of one of the most talented Catholic philosophers of the age.

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[42] *Ibid.*

[43] ACUA, D. Mercier to "My Dear Friend" [Edward A. Pace], Louvain, July 8, 1889.

While Keane was corresponding with Mercier he was "taking the measure" of other professors at Louvain through his able adviser, Edward Pace, and through the ever-helpful Bishop of Covington, Camillus Maes. Keane wrote to Pace on December 21, 1888:

> I have also asked Bp. Maes to feel the pulse of Prof. Jungmann as to the chair of dogma with us, and maybe, for a while of Ecclesiastical History with it. Keep this quiet, but profit by any possible opportunity to make sounding there.
>
> What do you think of Prof. Colinet? The science of Religion is a branch of importance.[44]

After receiving a letter from Maes in which he was informed that Bernard Jungmann, fifty-six at the time, hesitated about going to America on account of his age,[45] Keane wrote to Pace to put forth every effort to convince the professor that he should come to Washington:

> I speak of Jungmann for Dogma, because that is the most important chair to fill, & he is recommended as well fitted for it, both as a Thomist of great talent, & as a historian who could give dogmatic teaching that concrete shape that I would wish all our teaching to have. I have warmed to him, because Satolli & others say Lepidi *won't do*—Satolli says Jungmann could do very well. Bp. Maes writes me that Jungmann hesitates on account of his age, 56. But it seems to me that is a small objection. I have had no correspondence with him, & I would be glad that the ground should, if possible, be prepared before I approach him. Bp. Maes suggested that J. could, *provisionally*, do for ecclesiastical history as well as dogma, as it seems likely that we will fail to get Prof. Pastor for history, as we had hoped, and you know it will take a good while to make students look on ecclesiastical history as more than a secondary study.[46]

Pace's answer to this plea must have given Keane a start, for in a letter to him on February 8, the rector said:

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[44] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, December 21, 1888. Philip Colinet was well known because of his writings in philosophical reviews.

[45] Mercier also informed Keane that Jungmann "cannot get used to the idea of changing his environment at fifty-four years of age." He advised Keane that he would have more chance with Jungmann if he "could bring both the expression of a desire and a sign of special esteem from His Holiness" (ACUA, D. Mercier to John J. Keane, Louvain, March 21, 1889 [French].). Jungmann was born in 1833 and died January 12, 1895. Cf. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* V, 722.

[46] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, January 11, 1889.

> In your last letter you intimated that it might be as well to ask Jungmann only for *Ch. History*. Does this mean that you doubt whether he is fit for the chair of Dogma? It is necessary for me to see very clearly on this point, and you must help me by talking very plainly.—I have heard that dogma is his ultimate aim at Louvain, that he is only waiting at his present work till the chair of dogma is vacant. So said Bishop Maes.—And all indications thus far point me towards him—*there is no one here that I can take. I must* look outside.—The professor must be an eminent man, a Roman student, and thoroughly with the Pope and Satolli in regard to St. Thomas. Satolli again expressed his conviction that Jungmann's knowledge of history & the Fathers ought to fit him for a splendid course of dogma, *the Summa being the text.*
>
> Do me the favor then to look into this matter carefully, by inquiries & even by personal conversation with him. . . . If he will not do, I don't see just whom to ask.[47]

Keane finally offered Jungmann the chair of dogma and on March 18 he received the following reply:

> Please accept my thanks for the kind letter and the offer, such an honor to me, of the professorship of dogma at the new Catholic University of America at Washington. The past few days I did not fail to think about that and to refer it to the Lord in my prayers; now I will no longer delay communicating these considerations to you. Much to my regret, they prevent me from complying with your Excellency's desires.
>
> I am in my fifty-seventh year, therefore already quite old and only too well do I feel my physical energy diminish and my strength of mind as well. No doubt, I can still work here, but to undertake such a task, a new and thorough course in dogma, in another country, in an altogether new situation, one needs vigour, assurance, even attraction, all of which I do not have. I cannot acquire those qualities just by an act of the will.
>
> Monsignor Maes thought I was ten years younger, and when he discussed the honorable proposal with me, I insisted on this obstacle of my age, since it sufficed without mentioning many other impediments. Nevertheless, there is another reason which to me is of the greatest importance. I studied philosophy and theology for eight years in Rome at the Germanic-Hungarian College. The special aim of that Institute, for over three hundred years, has been to train priests for work in the provinces of Germany; those parts of Belgium which were formerly part of the old Empire are included. According to arrangements with the Holy See, we take an oath, promising to return and work for the salvation of souls in those countries for which the Germanic College was founded. Therefore, I

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[47] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, February 8, 1889.

> am bound by that oath, and besides, I do not want to be freed. Since it is the aim of the Institute and according to an agreement with the Holy See, I am absolutely sure of being in the place where Providence wants me, the more so because I got that position without asking for it, in spite of many difficulties, and I have been able to work sufficiently according to the special aim the Apostolic See has always had in organizing the Germanic College.[48]

One disappointment followed another, for Philip Colinet also refused the offer of a chair at Washington[49] and Keane wrote Pace that "Innsbruck now promises *nothing*. Pastor won't come—& Bickel [*sic*] is considered useless as a professor, can't impart his great learning."[50] When Keane told Gibbons on January 22, "to gather a good corps of Professors,—even the small number of 6,—will be a task of great delicacy & difficulty,"[51] he wrote truly. During his stay in Rome he put forth every endeavor to obtain the Reverend Dr. Checchi, professor of moral theology in the College of the Propaganda, but in vain.[52] Other distinguished professors were recommended to him and, as his negotiations failed with those whom he had first chosen, he passed on to the consideration of them. When it became apparent that Ludwig von Pastor would not come to America, he told Pace to learn what he could about Professor Max Sdralek of Münster for history and Ernst Commer of Breslau for philosophy. Joseph Pohle was also under consideration as "having more imagination but less solidity than either of these two."[53]

Keane's major objective in Rome had been accomplished by the first week in March. The final papal approval of the university was given on March 7, 1889.[54] The rector was now free to realize his second objective in going to Europe. On March 20 he left Rome "to visit the principal Universities, & to enlist a corps of Professors." P. L. Connellan, the Roman correspondent for the Boston *Pilot,* reported Keane's itinerary after leaving Rome. "His first visit will be to Pisa, where Professor Gabbs, with whom he is already acquainted, will assist him. . . . Bishop Keane will next proceed to Florence, and pay a visit to the Jesuit house in the very ancient city of Fiesole."[55] In Keane's last audience with the Holy Father, he had told Leo XIII of his intention to go to Fiesole to see the General of the Jesuits in order to ask for the celebrated August Lehmkuhl for the chair of moral theology. In the "Chronicles" Keane wrote: "To my great surprise, the Pope had never heard of him. But when I explained, he promised, proprio motu, to give me a letter to the Father General, urging him to grant my request."[56] The bishop presented this letter to the General of the Jesuits at Fiesole and "the Father General explained that Fr. L. was in such a condition of health that he was unable to teach, & would be probably never able again.—That ended the matter of the professorship."[57]

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[48] ACUA, B. Jungmann to John J. Keane, Louvain, March 18, 1889.

[49] ACUA, Ph. Colinet to John J. Keane, Louvain, April 15, 1889 (French).

[50] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, February 8, 1889.

[51] BCA, 85-P-9, John J. Keane to James Gibbons, Rome, January 22, 1889.

[52] ACUA, "Chronicles," p. 40.

[53] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Rome, February 8, 1889. Max Sdralek taught at Breslau (1882-1884) and Münster (1884-1896). Cf. F. X. Seppelt, "Max Sdralek," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* IX, 389. Ernst Commer (1847-1928) had taught philosophy in Liverpool (1877) and, after receiving his degree of doctor of theology (1880), he taught at Münster (1884-1888) and Breslau (1888-1900). Cf. G. Söhngen, "Ernst Commer," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* III, 18.

Austria was the next scene of the quest for professors. Theology was taught in the faculties of Graz, Innsbruck, Cracow, Lemberg, Prague, Olmütz, Salzburg, and Vienna.[58] At Innsbruck was the theologate of the Austrian and Hungarian provinces of the Society of

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[54] Ellis, *op. cit.,* pp. 344-345.

[55] Boston *Pilot,* March 30, 1889. This is the only reference to Keane's journey to Pisa. Since all chairs of theology were suppressed throughout Italy in 1873, it is unlikely that he went to the University of Pisa in search of professors. Cf. U. Benigni, "University of Pisa," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* XII, 112.

[56] ACUA, "Chronicles," p. 40. August Lehmkuhl, S.J., (1834-1918) was very desirable because he had studied at Ditton Hall, England and because of his text book on moral theology. Cf. K. Hilgenreiner, "August Lehmkuhl," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* VI, 454.

[57] ACUA, "Chronicles," p. 40-41. This account continues: "But I entered at considerable length on a discussion with him of the too evident unfriendliness of the Jesuits towards the University, and of the notion, which I proved to him to be groundless, that the University was a measure of hostility or rivalry towards the Jesuits. He gave all possible assurances of friendliness &c., and I went away hoping my visit would do some good."

[58] Edward A. Pace, "Universities," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* XV, 188-198.

Jesus besides the theological school for a greater part of northern Tyrol.[59] Bishop Keane was very anxious to obtain some men from this famous university but his correspondence with them had given ample proof that it was impossible. Hence, he confined his visit to Vienna, the second oldest university of the former Holy Roman Empire, whose Catholic character by this time was limited to the theological faculty.[60] Keane was welcomed by all the professors at Vienna because "Mgr. Merry del Val, a very eminent young prelate, gave me a letter to his father, who is the Spanish ambassador at Vienna."[61] During his visit he wrote Monsignor O'Connell at Rome that, "my visit here has been useful, giving me insights that will serve to avert blunders.—The notion here as to sacred studies is, that Rome is stronger as to Dogma, but far weaker than Vienna as to Scriptural and historical studies. I think *these* and philosophy (in its broadest sense) ought to be our aim & our characteristics."[62] The next day Keane wrote to Pace that his visit to Vienna had been instructive, "but I am still at sea as to *men*. I start for Munich tomorrow—will be there only two or three days. . . . Thence I will go to Fulda, to see Pohle."[63]

In Germany at this time, there were theological faculties at Bonn, Breslau, Freiburg, Munich, Münster, Strassburg, Tübingen, and Würzburg. These were state institutions where the professors were appointed and paid by the state, but those appointed to the theological faculties had to be approved by the bishops.[64] Munich did not yield any professors, so Keane hastened to Fulda to see if Joseph Pohle would consent to join the pioneer band in America. Pohle was particularly desirable because of his erudition, his reputation, his knowledge of the English language, and his age. He had received the degrees of doctor of philosophy, doctor of theology, and licentiate in canon law at the Gregorian University in Rome, and at this time he was teaching in the seminary at Fulda and was one of the editors of the *Philosophical Year Book* of the Görres Society. Some years before, the *Kulturkampf* had proscribed his usefulness in Germany and he had taught for a while in Switzerland and in the Seminary of the Diocese of Leeds in England.[65] Keane was elated when he wrote O'Connell:

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[59] M. J. Ahern, "Innsbruck University," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* VIII, 24-25.

[60] Leopold Senfelder, "University of Vienna," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* XV, 421-423.

[61] *Church News* (Washington), May 12, 1889.

[62] RDA, John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Vienna, March 30, [1889]. Keane's state of mind was revealed in this letter: "While I feel the need of making all possible noise on these inaugural and preparatory occasions, I am praying in an anxious heart all the time that the outcome may be to the Church's credit & utility & not to the contrary. Do join with me always in that supplication.

"The rescript [from Cardinal Simeoni on May 23, 1889] has turned out admirably. But won't it make some people mad! O *how hard* a position has Providence placed a fellow in who detests strife & diplomacy, & who, on the other hand, has danger from a quick Irish temper besides, which it usually takes far more effort to control than people know of! May God keep his poor servant."

[63] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Vienna, March 31, 1889.

[64] Edward A. Pace, "Universities," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* XV, 188-198.

> Rev. Dr. Pohle, Professor of the Seminary here, has accepted the Chair of Philosophy in our University. He is considered by all who know him as one of the foremost men of the day in philosophical studies—and is a model priest. He was seven years at the German College in Rome, where he must have been ordained about 12 years ago, as he is now 36 years of age. During the Kulturkampf, he taught theology at Leeds, England, & speaks English well.
>
> And let me ask of you a great service. He, like the other students of the German College, took an oath to work in Germany. He must get a dispensation from this. The Holy Father will be sure to grant it, as he desires that we should succeed in getting our corps of Professors.[66]

On the same day Bishop Keane wrote the chancellor of the university relating his satisfaction with the work accomplished in Rome and reiterating that "the task of gathering together a small corps of Professors is a task full of difficulties."[67] He did not tell Cardinal Gibbons, however, that he had obtained the services of "one of the first philosophers of Germany."

The rector next visited the University of Bonn. There he offered a chair to Felten, who was engaged at the time in teaching sacred scripture. Felten considered the offer seriously and he later wrote Keane that, "after having consulted with some friends and with the kind-hearted Archbishop of Cologne," he had come to the conclusion that he could not accept the honorable offer.[68] In the same letter Felten recommended Louis Claude Fillion, a Sulpician, "a biblical scholar and a writer of name," and if the Sulpicians, "who have done so much for America already," refused to release Fillion, he recommended "l'abbé Martin, Professeur à l'école supérieure de Théologie de Paris."

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[65] Charles G. Herbermann, "The Faculty of the Catholic University," *ACQR,* XIV (October, 1889), 708-709.

[66] RDA, John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Fulda, April 5, 1889.

[67] BCA, 85-V-7, John J. Keane to James Gibbons, Fulda, April 5, 1889.

Keane remained in the region of the lower Rhine where, following the advice of Felten, he contacted Joseph Schroeder at the archdiocesan seminary of Cologne. At this time Schroeder was only forty years old but he had gained a reputation as a linguist, an orator, a writer, and a serious scholar. While in residence at the German College at Rome, he passed the public examinations in philosophy and theology and "the doctor's hat was awarded to him amid the hearty applause of all present." He could not return to Germany to exercise his ministry because of the May Laws, so he spent the years until the *Kulturkampf* was abandoned teaching in the Seminary of St. Trond, at Liége, Belgium. After his return to Germany in 1887, Schroeder was appointed pastor of the Church of St. John the Baptist at Cologne. Within a year the Cologne seminary lost its professor of dogmatic theology, Dr. Matthias Joseph Scheeben, and Archbishop Krementz of Cologne chose Schroeder to take the chair of dogma and morals.[69] It was while occupying this position that Bishop Keane's offer came to him and he obtained the consent of his archbishop to leave the Archdiocese of Cologne and accept the chair of dogma offered by the rector of the Catholic University of America. Keane wrote O'Connell that Schroeder "is considered one of the ablest professors in Germany," and he requested that O'Connell obtain a dispensation from the oath to teach in Germany that had been taken when Schroeder was at the German College in Rome. The rector now had three of his professors, Hyvernat for sacred scripture, Pohle for thomistic philosophy, and Schroeder for dogmatic theology. The search was henceforth confined to professors for moral philosophy, church history, canon law, and English literature.

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[68] ACUA, Joseph Felten to My Lord [John J. Keane], Bonn, April 14, 1889. Louis Claude Fillion (1843-1927) was professor in the seminary of Rheims and later a professor in the Catholic Institute of Paris. Cf. J. Freundorfer, "Louis Claude Fillion," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IV, 1.

[69] Charles G. Herbermann, "The Faculty of the Catholic University," *ACQR*, XIV (October, 1889), 704-705. John B. Hogan described Schroeder after their first meeting as "a big burley German with a good-natured look beaming through his glasses" (St. Mary's Seminary Archives, Baltimore, J. B. Hogan to Charles B. Rex, Baltimore, October 27, 1889).

John Keane had entertained hopes of obtaining Max Sdralek for church history when he visited the Royal Academy at Münster. Sdralek was away when the rector arrived and thus it was not until later that he learned that the able professor intended to remain in Germany.[70] While at Münster, Keane offered the chair of moral theology to Joseph Rappenhöner, who had been teaching the subject for a year. The young professor later declined the offer because of "my father's objection." Rappenhöner added, however, that he would appreciate being kept in mind in the future in case a professorial chair should fall vacant at Washington as he desired to work with Dr. Pohle.[71]

Belgium and particularly the University of Louvain, "the best organized Catholic University in the world," was the next field to be thoroughly searched. The successive refusals of Mercier, Jungmann, and Colinet to accept his offer of posts had in no way dampened Keane's high regard for the university that he considered to be the model that the Catholic University of America should keep before its eyes.[72] After spending several days at Louvain without any further success, he went to Liége. He offered the chair of church history to Godefroid Kurth, who had won fame for his many historical writings. Kurth, "after consultation with religious persons and asking God's help," decided not to leave Europe.[73]

The American rector now turned to France. He looked to the five Catholic institutes of France at Angers, Lille, Lyons, Paris, and Toulouse as his final hope. These five centers had been established as independent Catholic institutions after 1875, and Lille was now the most flourishing of them all.[74] The rector obtained Thomas Bouquillon, a former professor at Lille, for the chair of moral theology. Bouquillon, a native of Belgium, had spent ten years teaching moral theology in the seminary of Bruges after he had received the degree of doctor of theology upon completion of his studies at the Gregorian University. In 1877 he was appointed to the Catholic Institute of Lille, where his ability as a teacher and a writer became known to European theologians, especially upon publication of his manual of moral theology, *Theologia moralis fundamentalis*.[75]

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[70] ACUA, Jos. Rappenhöner to John J. Keane, Münster, April 15, 1889.

[71] *Ibid.* Rappenhöner taught moral theology at the Royal Academy at Münster from 1888-1891. After that he taught at the University of Bonn. Cf. Jos. Rappenhöner, *Allgemeine Moraltheologie* (Münich, 1893), p. i.

[72] John J. Keane, "The Catholic University of Louvain," *Catholic World,* XLVI (January, 1888), 525-534.

[73] ACUA, Godefroid Kurth to "Monseigneur" [John J. Keane], Liége, April 15, 1889. Kurth was professor of history at Liége from 1872 until 1906. Cf. E. de Moreau, "Godefroid Kurth," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* VI, 316.

Paris was the next stopping place. His mission was now near completion and his search was almost over. Keane usually stayed with J. H. Icard, S.S., the Superior General of the Sulpicians, when in Paris, and this time he had the added pleasure of the company of Father Pace who had left Louvain in March to pursue further studies at the Catholic Institute of Paris.[76] While in Paris, Keane had several conferences with the rector of the Catholic Institute and he "saw all there was at the Sorbonne, and adopted all their useful ideas."[77]

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[74] John J. Keane, "The Catholic Universities of France," *Catholic World*, XLVII (June, 1888), 289-297.

[75] "Memorial Exercises for Dr. Bouquillon," *Catholic University Bulletin*, IX (January, 1903), 157-163. Bouquillon was born at Warneton in Belgium, May 16, 1842 and he died in Belgium November 2, 1902. Charles G. Herbermann in his article, "The Faculty of the Catholic University," gave his age as "about forty-two" and erroneously stated that "he had prepared himself for the professor's chair by careful, conscientious, and intelligent toil at the University of Louvain, and his scholarship there was so marked and so well appreciated that he was appointed to a professor's chair in Belgium immediately after his ordination". *ACQR*, XIV (October, 1889), 710-711. Cf. William J. Kerby, "Thomas Bouquillon," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 716. Camillus P. Maes, Bishop of Covington, gave this interesting description of Bouquillon shortly before the professor's death: "Do you know Bouquillon? If so, you can picture him to yourself, bending forward, opening wide his big black eyes, and with thumb and index fingers of extended hand pressed together, and, with startled voice of deep conviction saying deliberately and with scanded [*sic*] utterance: 'Mais, Monseigneur . . . c'est difficile.' Then, suddenly propelling himself forward to the edge of his chair and staring at me: 'Monseigneur!' he exclaimed, 'mais . . . c'est . . . dangereux!' " Archives of the University of Notre Dame (Photostat), Camillus P. Maes to "My dear Friend" [Daniel Hudson], Covington, October 9, 1902.

[76] RDA, P. R. Heffron to D. J. O'Connell, Louvain, March 3, 1889.

[77] *Church News* (Washington), May 12, 1889.

It had been Bishop Keane's intention, when he left for Europe, to secure a Roman for canon law. While in Rome, he was urged to take Sebastian G. Messmer, professor of dogmatic theology at Seton Hall, the seminary of the Diocese of Newark. Keane obtained the permission of Bishop Winand M. Wigger of Newark, who was then in Rome, and cabled the offer to Messmer.[78] The latter was a native of Switzerland. He had completed his studies at Innsbruck and shortly after his ordination in 1871 he came to the United States and began teaching dogmatic theology at Seton Hall. His outstanding ability as a theologian led to his appointment as one of the secretaries of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884.[79] When he received the offer of the chair of canon law, he did not rely on his own judgment as to his fitness. He wrote to Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Corrigan to ask them whether they would consider him to be "a fit subject for the position, intellectually, morally & socially, and whether you approve of the nomination made by Bp. Keane. Your answer will decide whether I shall accept or not."[80] He also told Corrigan that "the position would just suit my taste & inclination." The two prelates seconded Keane's nomination and Messmer cabled his acceptance to the rector. Shortly thereafter Messmer wrote Gibbons to thank him "for the kind words spoken to me in your letter."[81]

By the third week in April, 1889, Keane had reason to rejoice, as his European mission was accomplished. He told Pace, "my heart is full of gratitude for the blessings that have prospered my mission beyond my hopes."[82] He also told Pace that he had a "jubilant letter" from Schroeder and one from Bouquillon "full of doubts, which I hope I have removed by a long letter." Before sailing for America, Keane wrote to Denis O'Connell:

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[78] ACUA, "Chronicles," p. 40.

[79] Charles G. Herbermann, "The Faculty of the Catholic University," *ACQR,* XIV (October, 1889), 710.

[80] BCA, 85-W-3, S. G. Messmer to James Gibbons, South Orange, April 7, 1889; NYAA, C-24, S. G. Messmer to M. A. Corrigan, South Orange, April 3, 1889.

[81] BCA, 85-W-10, S. G. Messmer to James Gibbons, South Orange, April 15, 1889.

[82] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Queenstown, Sunday morning, 1889.

> Our corps of professors to begin with, will be:
>
> Dr. Schroeder, Dogma
> " Bouquillon, Moral
> " Messmer, Canon Law
> " Hyvernat, Old Testament
> " Pohlle, Thomistic Philosophy.
>
> These are all first class men & make a fine start. Pace and Shahan will fall in line ere long. I regret not having found a satisfactory Prof. of Ecclesiastical History—but that will come in time.[83]

He also urged O'Connell again to obtain the dispensation from the German College oath for Schroeder and Pohle.

Bishop Keane was welcomed home on Sunday, May 5, by Philip J. Garrigan, the vice-rector of the university. He gave interviews to the newspapers which informed the country of the success of his mission and made all aware of the fact that the university would be staffed by brilliant minds when it would open in the coming autumn. The press also announced that Charles Warren Stoddard had been engaged for the chair of English literature. Stoddard had a reputation as a lecturer and writer and he had taught English literature in 1885-1886 at the University of Notre Dame.[84] The newspaper accounts of the new faculty also gave rise to some speculation as to who would be called to complete the faculty. Bishop Foley of Detroit wrote Cardinal Gibbons:

> It has appeared in the newspapers and is confirmed in the "Dacotah [*sic*] Catholic" that Dr. Marty is to lecture on Plain-Chant, as one of the grand professors of the University. Everybody is laughing out in the West and asking if this is the higher education to be given after so much effort and expense.[85]

It was idle speculation on Marty because it had been announced previously that Joseph Graf was to be the musical director of the university. Father Graf, a native of Germany, had been musical director of the Cathedral of the Assumption in Baltimore for eight years before receiving his appointment to the same position at the Catholic University of America.[86]

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[83] RDA, John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Liverpool, April 27, [1889].

[84] New York *Evening Telegram*, May 16, 1869. Cf. Charles G. Herbermann, "The Faculty of the Catholic University," *ACQR*, XIV (October, 1889), 706-707.

[85] BCA, 86-U-12, John Foley to James Gibbons, Detroit, July 11, 1889.

Other names were presented to Keane and the Board of Trustees as suitable candidates for positions in the university. In a strong letter to Cardinal Gibbons, William Byrne, vicar general of the Archdiocese of Boston, recommended Charles P. Grannan, professor of dogma and sacred scripture in Mount St. Mary's Seminary at Emmitsburg:

> He made the best course of Sacred Scripture that Rome could give under the late Prof. Ubaldi. He is a pupil of the Propaganda and bears the degree of S.T.D. which he earned in that institution. He has taught Sacred Scripture and Theology for about seven years at Emmittsburg, with general approval and distinguished success. . . . He is willing to study two or three years in Germany or elsewhere, to perfect himself in the subject that may be assigned to him. This he will do at his own expense, if required, having friends who will aid him.[87]

This recommendation was not fully considered until the fall of the year when a slight misunderstanding developed between Archbishop Corrigan, Grannan's superior, and Keane as to the extent of the preliminary advances that had been made. Keane took particular pains to correct any false impression that had been made on Corrigan, whose support of the university was so badly needed, and Keane assured Corrigan that *"no invitation whatsoever had thus far been given him"* and "no thought has been entertained of entering into an agreement with him, until we should first have your assurance that it would be pleasing to you, both as his Ordinary and as a member of the Board of Directors."[88] Corrigan, after accepting this explanation of the misunderstanding, gave his full consent as Grannan's ordinary and as a member of the board, stating at the same time, "in case the University or Mt. St. Mary's do not need Dr. Grannan, abundance of work awaits him at home, where he would be very useful, and very welcome."[89] After receipt of this satisfactory letter, Keane consulted with the cardinal and they decided to invite Grannan "to prepare for future work in the University by some years of study in Europe." He also sent Corrigan a letter to tell him that he appreciated his "valuable service thus given to the work."[90]

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[86] New York *Evening Telegram,* May 16, 1889.

[87] BCA, 86-F-5, William Byrne to James Gibbons, Boston, July 25, 1889.

[88] NYAA, C-16, John J. Keane to M. A. Corrigan, Washington, September 11, 1889.

[89] NYAA, C-16, M. A. Corrigan to John J. Keane, New York, September 16, 1889, copy.

Another name that occasioned considerable correspondence between Keane and the Board of Trustees in the period just before the University's opening was that of St. George Mivart. It was recorded in the minutes of the second meeting of the board in 1885 that "Prof. St. George Mivart [was] desirable as prof. of science."[91] It is quite likely that Bishop Ireland made the suggestion, for it was he who now strongly urged Keane now to secure the services of Mivart at once.[92] Keane wrote Corrigan:

> His name would add greatly to the reputation of the Univ;—nay it is urged that, without the prestige of some such man, our Faculty, no matter how learned & eloquent in Latin will count for very little in the estimation of the American public, whose expectations ought to count for something with us.[93]

Keane also urged that any suspicions about his orthodoxy ought to be considered entirely removed "especially by the letter of commendation & benediction sent him by the Holy Father, on account of his recent work on Truth."[94] It was Corrigan's opinion, however, that it would not be wise to invite opposition at the start or to afford unnecessarily any grounds for criticism. Corrigan realized that Mivart's attainments were very valuable but he believed that he would serve the university better later on in the chair of natural science when secular students attended the university. "If I do not mistake," Corrigan said, "Professor Mybart's [*sic*] difficulties have occurred chiefly, when he left the field of science for the domain of theology."[95] Archbishop Patrick J. Ryan of Philadelphia wrote Gibbons at the same time, saying that he had talked of the Mivart case with Archbishop Williams of Boston and the latter had given excellent reasons for "first consulting Card. Manning or someone equally competent to judge as to Mivart's present position as a Christian philosopher."[96] Ryan also felt that to invite a man suspected of unsound philosophy would be injurious to the university. Gibbons informed Ryan that the engagement of Mivart was postponed until further investigation and Ryan passed this information on to the Archbishop of New York.[97] This cautious attitude of some members of the Board of Trustees and the prayers that Keane requested of Pace "that God may guide to a wise solution of so important a problem" saved the university from embarrassment, for Mivart later rejected some points of Catholic teaching which resulted in his being excommunicated and denied christian burial.[98]

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[90] NYAA, C-16, John J. Keane to M. A. Corrigan, Washington, September 20, 1889. The trustees of the university agreed to pay the expenses of Pace, Shahan, and Messmer. Grannan had agreed to pay his own expenses. ACUA, MMBT, Baltimore, November 12, 1889, p. 27.

[91] ACUA, MMBT, New York, January 27, 1885, p. 6.

[92] ACUA, John J. Keane to Edward A. Pace, Washington, August 7, 1889.

[93] NYAA, C-16, John J. Keane to M. A. Corrigan, Cape May, New Jersey, August 2, 1889.

[94] *Ibid.*

Besides the regular faculty the Board of Trustees engaged two Paulists, Augustine F. Hewit and George M. Searle, the former to lecture on church history and the latter on astronomy and physics. Both these men were converts and Father Hewit was among the original group that founded the Paulists in 1858. The Paulists were the first to establish a house of studies at the university and Keane was quick to make use of the talents of these two capable men. Hewit had exercised his talents for writing since publishing his autobiography in 1846 and he had been one of the editors of the works of Bishop John England. Searle had been an assistant professor at the Naval Academy in Annapolis for four years, and for nearly two years he had served as assistant at the Harvard Observatory. After he joined the Paulists, he published a volume, *Elements of Geometry,* which was highly praised in scientific journals.[99]

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[95] NYAA, C-39, M. A. Corrigan to John J. Keane, New York, August 5, 1889, copy.

[96] BCA, 83-M-3, P. J. Ryan to James Gibbons, Philadelphia, September 8, 1889.

[97] NYAA, C-17, P. J. Ryan to M. A. Corrigan, Philadelphia, September 21, 1889.

[98] The correspondence between Herbert Cardinal Vaughan and St. George Mivart relative to his rejection of certain teachings of the Catholic Church was printed in the American newspapers and proved a subject of general interest at the time. Cf. New York *Sun*, February 8, 1900; *Catholic Standard and Times* (Philadelphia), February 17, 1900.

Very important in the life of the future university was the director of the divinity college. The first director was the Very Reverend John B. Hogan, S.S. Hogan's name was suggested in the second meeting of the Board of Trustees, held in New York in 1885, "as most suitable for Rector of the New University."[100] This suggestion was somewhat strange since it was the intention of the hierarchy to have the university under the direction of the secular clergy, but it was an evidence of the esteem in which Hogan was held by some members of the board. At the seventh meeting of the board, held in Baltimore on May 12, 1886, Gibbons was directed to communicate with the Superior General of the Sulpicians with a view to placing these fathers in charge of the discipline of the priest-students of the university.[101] Keane later entered into a contract with Father Icard, the Superior General of the Sulpicians,[102] and Hogan, who was then rector of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts, was appointed to the Washington post by Icard. At the time of this appointment there was a question of the Sulpicians taking charge of All Hallows College near Dublin, and it seemed a foregone conclusion that had they assumed control there Hogan would have been placed at the head of that institution. "It was even in view of this that, when sending him to the University, Fr. Icard informed Bishop Keane, that he might withdraw him after a few years."[103] Besides directing the discipline of Divinity College at the university Hogan lectured three times a week on ascetical theology.[104] For an assistant in the direction of studies and discipline, Father Hogan had Alexis Orban, S.S., who was also librarian and conducted private classes in geology.[105]

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[99] Charles G. Herbermann, "The Faculty of the Catholic University," *ACQR,* XIV (October, 1889), 711-713.

[100] ACUA, MMBT, New York, January 27, 1885, p. 6.

[101] ACUA, MMBT, Baltimore, May 12, 1886, p. 13.

[102] St. Mary's Seminary Archives, Baltimore, L. F. M. Dumont to Charles B. Rex, Washington, April 15, 1895.

[103] NYAA, C-42, A. Magnien, S.S., to M. A. Corrigan, Baltimore, January 14, 1892. This letter was written at the time Corrigan was seeking a rector for the seminary that he intended to open in New York. Abbé Magnien thought that Father Hogan could be spared: "I feel convinced that our Superior will have less difficulty in providing for the University than in finding a president for your seminary."

Thus at the time of the opening of the Catholic University of America in November, 1889, the aim of the hierarchy and officials of the university to have a distinguished faculty worthy of the institution's place in American Catholic life was realized. True, it was not a complete faculty but within a few years the faculty of theology was brought to full strenth and as time passed the other faculties were added according to the original plan. The Board of Trustees, through the efforts of the first rector, obtained men of outstanding talent for further preparation in European countries and in time the faculties of the university became predominantly American.

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[104] *Solemnities of the Dedication and Opening of the Catholic University of America, November 13th, 1889. Official Report* (Baltimore, 1890), p. 78.

[105] *Ibid.*

AMERICANISM AND THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

By

Peter E. Hogan*

The Catholic University of America and the disturbance known as "Americanism," which rocked the Church of the United States during the 1880's and 1890's, were intimately related. The story of the one cannot be told apart from the other without a loss of the true understanding of each. Neither can be told apart from the general background of the conflicting characters of the period. To do this in its entirety, however, is an impossibility, due to lost, destroyed, or inaccessible archival material, as well as to the limitations of space. The best that can be achieved here, therefore, is an account which will endeavor to trace some few strands of the tangled web, to recount one important phase of an extensive movement that has yet to find its definitive historian.

Thomas T. McAvoy in his article on "Americanism, Fact and Fiction,"[1] presented an accurate description of the background to the general subject of Americanism. He drew the distinction between the three types of Americanism, political, theological and, if it may be called such, practical Americanism. Political Americanism and theological Americanism will enter here only in passing, in so far as they affect the third type, viz., practical Americanism. Practical Americanism is a rather elusive term, a name tagged on to the efforts made to accommodate the immigrant groups to the American culture. Because of the number of foreign-born, and their immediate descendants, in her flock, the Catholic Church, with the European and reactionary tinge that some associated with her, bore the brunt of the difficulties associated with this Americanizing process. These difficulties occasioned a practical, if not admitted, rift between various elements within the hierarchy.[2] In time the centers of the progressive and conservative parties could be determined, although there was a constant wavering on the part of the less involved hierarchical partisans.

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[1] *Catholic Historical Review,* XXXI (July, 1945), 133-153. This article gives in an admirable way the general background of the conflicting personalities and the incidents which occasioned most of the troubles. It also treats of the European aspects that were expressed in the newspaper controversies in France and Italy, the theological and political productions that were mainly responsible for the letter of Pope Leo XIII on Americanism, the *Testem Benevolentiae.* The part of the Paulists, and especially the theological doctrines of Isaac T. Hecker, is treated by Vincent F. Holden, "A Myth in 'L'Américanisme,'" *Catholic Historical Review,* XXXI (July, 1945), 154-170.

John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, was easily identified as the leader of the progressive party. Bishop John J. Keane, Rector of the Catholic University of America, and Monsignor Denis J. O'Connell, Rector of the American College in Rome, were in consistent and active co-operation with Ireland. On crucial occasions, the support of Cardinal Gibbons could be relied upon, as the cardinal's almost constant sympathy was with the general trend of ideas as espoused by Ireland and his friends. Less obvious and less consistent support came from Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan of San Francisco, Bishop Camillus P. Maes of Covington, and Archbishop John J. Kain of St. Louis. with the Ireland group, led an independent existence, acting in con- Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria, while agreeing in general cert with it only when his own social views coincided with those of the Americanizers.

The conservative party had its leader in Michael A. Corrigan,

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[2] The reprinted sermon of a Baptist minister, F. L. Anderson, quoted from the Rochester *Union and Advertiser,* of December 3, 1894, by Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rome, 1927), III, 234, gives a representative picture of the ordinary American view of the situation. ". . . there are two distinct and hostile parties in the Roman Catholic Church in America. One is led by Archbishop Ireland. It stands for Americanism and a larger independence. It is sympathetic with modern thought. It believes the Roman Catholic Church should take its place in all the great moral reforms. It is small, but progressive, vigorous, and brave.

The other party is led by the overwhelming majority of the hierarchy. It is conservative, out of touch with American or modern ideas. It is the old medieval European Church, transplanted into the Nineteenth Century and this country of freedom, interesting as an antiquity and curiosity but fast losing its power and growing in bitterness."

Archbishop of New York, continuously urged on by his equally outspoken suffragan of Rochester, Bernard J. McQuaid. Richard Gilmour, Bishop of Cleveland, and Patrick J. Ryan, Archbishop of Philadelphia, both gave indirect aid to the conservative group, and the German-American bishops proved active auxiliaries, notably Frederick F. X. Katzer, Archbishop of Milwaukee, Ignatius F. Horstmann, Bishop of Cleveland after the death of Gilmour in 1891, and Sebastian G. Messmer, Bishop of Green Bay, and former professor of canon law in the University. It is impossible to draw any hard and fast line through the hierarchy of those days which would put the conservatives on one side and the progressives on the other, for many, such as Archbishop John J. Williams of Boston, refused to involve themselves, while others would pass from side to side as each new subject of controversy arose. One of the most influential ecclesiastics who most completely shifted his allegiance was America's first apostolic delegate, Archbishop, and after 1896, Cardinal Francesco Satolli, who throughout the entire episode remained a power to be reckoned with, both in the United States and in Rome.

The Catholic University of America had opened in 1889 only after a long and sometimes acrimonious struggle between the two parties of the hierarchy.[3] The University had been born in contention and, during the early years of its life, it seemed destined to live in contention. Opposition to the University came less from the idea and purpose of a university than it did from the personalities involved, and the fostering of private plans. McQuaid and Corrigan had both been instrumental in the development of Seton Hall College at South Orange, New Jersey, and it was only natural that when the site for the new university was shifted from Seton Hall to Washington that they should view it with a somewhat jaundiced eye. Moreover, Bishop McQuaid was busy during the late 1880's and the early 1890's with plans for what became his first love, St. Bernard's Seminary, and this helped to solidify his opposition to the projected university. When the university became a fact, McQuaid proceeded with the development of St. Bernard's, convinced that the University would shortly be a failure, and, with that in view, he eventually succeeded in obtaining for his seminary from Rome the right to grant theological degrees equal to those of the University.[4]

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[3] Cf. John Tracy Ellis, *The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* (Washington, 1946), for the complete account of the interesting factional struggle that finally resulted in a victory for Spalding, Keane, and Ireland and the establishment of the University.

Archbishop Corrigan also had a seminary project in mind, as well as having Fordham in his see city, but his main objection seems to have been more personal. John J. Keane, the Rector of the University, was, in his estimation, a meddler who had tried to interfere in the case of Dr. Edward McGlynn. While Keane was in Rome in 1887 on university business, he had written to McGlynn, at the request of Cardinal Simeoni, in an endeavor to have the New York priest make his peace with his archbishop. Although Keane's letter was of no avail in reconciling McGlynn with his archbishop on the question of the single tax doctrine, it was not without results. About these results Keane wrote to Denis O'Connell:

> Just before his Jubilee, Abp. Corrigan wrote in reference to that letter of mine from Rome, which he has hitherto ignored. I responded most affectionately, giving explanations for peace' sake [*sic*]. A correspondence has ensued, showing a bitter spirit in him. His last clearly shows that my first reply to him was at once sent to la Signora [*sic*], & that she has vigorously canvassed all available parties, from Card. Simeoni down, to prove that I was regarded as a meddler in the affairs of the Abp. of N. Y. This will doubtless raise embarrassments & hinderances in my way in Rome. *Personally,* I do not care,—but I regret the obstacles thus thrown in the way of what I firmly believe to be the work of God & His Church.[5]

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[4] The document granting this right may be found in "Analecta," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* XXV (July, 1901), 69-71. In the same issue in "Conferences," pp. 69-71, there is a section on "Academic Degrees in the Rochester Theological Seminary," which carries a letter from McQuaid to his fellow bishops telling of the advantages of the Rochester seminary and using the number of students already enrolled to draw an indirect comparison with the University, favorable to Rochester. McQuaid wrote an article, "Our American Seminaries," *American Ecclesiastical Review,* XVI (May, 1897), 461-480, telling of the advantages, the life and education offered at St. Bernard's. It is noteworthy for its pointed lack of references to the University and the higher degrees offered there.

[5] Richmond Diocesan Archives (hereafter referred to as RDA), John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Baltimore, November 2, 1888. La Signorina meant Miss Ella B. Edes, a newspaper woman in Rome, who frequently acted as Roman agent for Corrigan and McQuaid. The letter of Keane to Corrigan, Chicago,

Probably not unrelated to the Keane letter to McGlynn was the resignation—much to the dismay of the chancellor, Cardinal Gibbons—of Corrigan from the Board of Trustees of the University, giving as his reason that "the care of my Diocese requires all my time and attention."[6] By July, 1888, however, he had returned again to the board and Gibbons must have been encouraged to hear from O'Connell:

> Your news about Abp. Corrigan's return to the Board did not surprise me; was in fact what I expected, and part of what I intimated to you some time ago. In a late audience with the Holy Father I said that the University was getting on well, but of course it had its enemies. "Si" he replied, "quello Corrigan."[7]

The final establishment of the University, however, did not bring peace to the American Church. The School Controversy of the early 1890's called the opposing groups to their posts once more. Corrigan, McQuaid, and the German-American bishops hit at the Faribault-Stillwater plan of John Ireland, aided as they were, by several Jesuit writers, and by Monsignor Joseph Schroeder, professor of dogmatic theology in the Catholic University of America. This group had, too, at least the implied approbation of Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, through the pages of the *American Ecclesiastical Review,* published

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September 16, 1888, New York Archdiocesan Archives (hereafter referred to as NYAA), E-k, presents a review of Keane's stand and is a full explanation of why he became involved in the case. He protests that he gave no encouragement to McGlynn: "That the unfortunate priest should have answered me, as he has, only by insult and misrepresentation, I could very quietly let pass without feeling it; but that I should have been suspected and accused of acting against you, and abetting disaffections towards you, has indeed been a sorrow to me." In all there is a series of six letters from Keane in answer to those of Corrigan, dated from September 11 to October 31, 1888, after which Corrigan decided to say no more, even if he was not completely satisfied. New York *Freeman's Journal,* June 18, 1887, carried an interview with Keane in which he related his attempts to save McGlynn.

[6] Baltimore Cathedral Archives (hereafter referred to as BCA), 83-T-6/1, M. A. Corrigan to J. Card. Gibbons, New York, November 28, 1887. Gibbons wrote to Corrigan asking him to change his mind but in a letter of December 17, 1887 (BCA, 83-V-4), Corrigan reasserted his intention, and so Gibbons reluctantly accepted his resignation on December 23, 1887 (NYAA, C-15).

[7] BCA, 84-T-7, D. J. O'Connell to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, July 25, 1888.

in his see city.[8] Ireland was able to call on the talents of Thomas Bouquillon, professor of moral theology in the University, who, in two pamphlets ably set forth the moral principles which, under certain conditions, justified the participation of the State in the education of its subjects, and answered the objections of the opposing faction.[9] Keane, in various newspaper interviews, gave his support to Bouquillon. Satolli, recently arrived in the country as ablegate of Leo XIII, and after a month's visit in St. Paul, presented his fourteen propositions[10] at the meeting of the archbishops in New York on November 17, 1892. Satolli's efforts were an attempt to bring peace to the American scene. His endeavors only succeeded in stirring further discussion, and a doubtful peace was won only after Gibbons had appealed to Rome and was answered on May 31, 1893, by Pope Leo XIII who confirmed the *tolerari potest* for Ireland's school plan as originally stated by Satolli the previous November.

In the same eventful meeting of November, 1892, another question had arisen, viz., the participation in the World's Parliament of Religions at the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. A somewhat hesitant approval was given to Catholic participation and Keane was appointed to represent the American Church in the preparations. Gibbons, Ireland, and Keane were active in the Chicago congress, motivated by a desire of church union, but a union based on a return to the "old Catholic Universal Church."[11] The conservatives were highly incensed at this seeming co-operation with Protestants, Mohamedans, and pagans, and John Keane wrote an accurate prophecy when he said:

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[8] Cf. Daniel F. Reilly, O.P., *The School Controversy (1891-1893)* (Washington, 1943), for an extensive treatment of the subject. *The American Ecclesiastical Review,* Vols. VI and VII for 1892, has many articles, all of which support the anti-Ireland side of the case. Schroeder played a more reserved part, but was definitely active in the affair, writing a book on the subject, entitled *Une dernière phase de la question scolaire aux Etats-Unis,* and reviewed in *The American Ecclesiastical Review,* XI (July, 1894), 72-74. The most outstanding Jesuit writers were René I. Holaind, James Conway, Salvatore M. Brandi, and D. T. O'Sullivan.

[9] *Education: To Whom Does It Belong?* (Baltimore, 1891); *Education: To Whom Does It Belong? A Rejoinder to Critics* (Baltimore, 1892). McQuaid commented on the situation by writing to O'Connell on January 16, 1892 (RDA): "Just now, Bouquillon, in the name of his Superiors, has set the American Catholic World agog on the school question, apropos to the Fairbault [*sic*] arrangement. If these imported Europeans, with their old world motives, would only keep quiet, until they had found out where they were, it would conduce greatly to their comfort. . . . The newspapers tell us that Ireland will soon leave for Rome. As it is not his visit *ad limina,* we wonder what takes him there. He is the head and the front of the new liberalistic party in the American Church. If he would stay at home a little more, and mind his own diocese the latter would be the gainer. He is away from his diocese only a little more than Cardinal Gibbons."

[10] Cf. Reilly, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-276.

> I think he [Satolli] looks askance at our part in the Parliament of Religions, as do, no doubt, all the ultra conservatives. I got into it, first at the urgent solicitations of Abp. Ireland,—then at the request of the Abps. at their meeting in N. Y.—and I am confident that the result is an enormous advantage to the Church. But I take it for granted that I shall be denounced for it. So be it.[12]

The New York election of 1894 produced a further source of difference, when John Ireland spent several weeks before the election in New York City, in close contact with Republican leaders. This was all the more aggravating, since in the spring of the same year, McQuaid had been defeated as a candidate for the office of regent of the University of the State of New York by Sylvester Malone, a Brooklyn priest, and a *persona non grata* to both Corrigan and McQuaid, and this supposedly through the Republican influence of Archbishop Ireland. A series of charges and countercharges were dispatched to Rome by Corrigan and Ireland, and McQuaid could not remain passive in the fray. On November 25, 1894, he entered the lists with a sermon, delivered in the Rochester cathedral, attacking the interference of Ireland. Satolli, still the friend of Ireland, and amazed at a public denunciation of this kind by one bishop of another, sent the sermon to Rome, and also admonished McQuaid. In answer to a request for an explanation of his extraordinary conduct to be offered to Rome, McQuaid found the opportunity he had been awaiting, and he unburdened himself of charges he had been cherishing for years. His position was summarized in one of his statements:

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[11] John Henry Barrows (Ed.), *The World's Parliament of Religions* (Chicago, 1893), I, 182. This gives the final speech of Keane at the closing of the congress. The two-volume work of Barrows gives a chronicle of the congress and the papers presented during the gathering. Cf. Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, III, 235-240.

[12] RDA, John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Washington, October 10, 1893.

> Of late years, a spirit of false liberalism is springing up in our body under such leaders as Mgr. Ireland and Mgr. Keane, that, if not checked in time, will bring disaster on the Church. Many a time Catholic laymen have remarked that the Catholic Church they once knew seems to be passing away, so greatly shocked are they at what they see passing around them.[13]

So far as the present writer has been able to determine, no definite conclusion was brought to this particular episode, although it could hardly be without influence on future happenings.

John Ireland must have been strengthened in his liberal course by the news that Keane had brought back from Rome in the preceding summer of 1894, and by the audience which the University rector had with Leo XIII of which Keane had written to Gibbons:

> . . . . we got at the University. First I explained our success and presented an album of photographic views. Then we came to our difficulties, and discussed fully the opposition 1. of the Germans, 2. of the Jesuits, 3. of N. Y.—4. of all opposed to Mgr. Satolli and his policy, with which they identify the University. The last point launched us into the discussion of the delegation and Mgr. S. Here is where the Pope is most determined, because the delegation is simply an element in his "policy," which is, the breaking down of the influence of the Triple Alliance,—which means monarchism, militarism, and the oppression of the Papacy,—by enhancing the influence of democratic France and democratic America—an influence which presages democratic Italy, or Federated Italy, with the Pope in a position suitable to him. On this policy he is inflexibly bent.[14]

In spite of this encouragement for the Americanizers, a portent of what lay before Keane came in June, 1895, when Denis O'Connell sent to Gibbons his resignation as Rector of the American College in Rome, an action which was intended to go into effect in October.[15] For years O'Connell had acted as a general agent at Rome for all members of the American hierarchy, although in spirit he had been a follower of Ireland and Gibbons. In the later years of his rectorship, he came to act more particularly as the agent of the Ireland faction and his correspondence with Corrigan and McQuaid slackened, so that by 1895 O'Connell was definitely identified in the minds of many as a member of the Ireland party. That his resignation had been requested by the Holy See is certain.[16] Precisely why it was asked is still a somewhat open question. One of the most plausable explanations was that given by Salvatore M. Brandi, S.J., one of the editors of the *Civiltà Cattolica,* in a confidential letter to Archbishop Corrigan:

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[13] Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, III, 224. A long account of the McQuaid-Ireland relations, definitely colored by Zwierlein's obvious affection for McQuaid, may be found in this work, Chapter XXXII, pp. 160-251.

[14] BCA, 93-J-7, John J. Keane to J. Card. Gibbons, Pegli (near Geneva), July 31, 1894.

[15] BCA, 93-V-4, D. J. O'Connell to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, June 7, 1895.

> Dr. O'Connell's resignation has surprised no one in Rome. It was given *spinte* and not *sponte* at the demand of the Holy Father, to whom complaints against the Rector had been made by the Cardinals of the Propaganda. The principle [*sic*] complaints were, first, neglect of duty by frequent and long absences from Rome, second, want of confidence in the Rector on the part of the great majority of American Bishops. Besides these reasons, the Holy Father, I think, was displeased with the Rector because of his relations with Miss McTavish of Baltimore . . . . Miss McTavish, at the request of the Rector, and the day *after* the pontifical audience was received at the Quirinal by the queen. Such conduct gave offence at the Vatican . . . . I have heard a very eminent personage express the hope that the Archbishops, to whom it belongs to make the terna for the new Rector, would propose to the Holy See only those men who enjoy their full confidence and allow no clique to take the upper hand.[17]

At any length, his resignation was the beginning of an exile of over seven years which O'Connell endured in Rome, for although he still retained his former friends to a great extent, especially the two Cardinals Vannutelli and others of the *Concilionisti*,[18] he remained in the bad graces of the Pope and of Satolli. Gibbons made O'Connell the vicar of his titular church, Santa Maria in Trastevere, and thus he remained in the Eternal City, acting in so far as he could as the agent of the Gibbons and Ireland party and from time to time making trips to Germany and other countries in Europe.

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[16] Cf. BCA, 94-B-4, J. Card. Gibbons to D. J. O'Connell, Baltimore, October 11, 1895, copy: "And it is sad to think that this excellent condition of the College was not taken into consideration, as well as your own personal high character & reputation, before your resignation was peremptorily demanded." In 1888, the Pope himself had declared that O'Connell was indispensable for the American College when he had been urged for the See of Richmond. Cf. BCA, 85-L-9, John J. Keane to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, December 18, 1888.

[17] Paulist Fathers Archives on Americanism (hereafter designated as PFA-A), S. M. Brandi, S. J. to M. A. Corrigan, Rome, July 8, 1895 (photostat). The rumor that a reference by O'Connell to the relations between Leo XIII and Satolli was the cause of his dismissal seems to be proven false by a letter from Ireland in 1894 to O'Connell, which placed the origin of the remark with Corrigan. Cf. RDA, John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, New York, April 29, 1894.

The resignation of Denis O'Connell was but a breeze compared to the tornado stirred up in September of the following year, when the resignation of John J. Keane as Rector of the Catholic University of America was announced.[19] This bombshell announced the end of the first phase of the Americanism conflict, with an apparent victory for the conservatives. The great surprise came in the sudden change of Satolli, who formerly was most favorable to Keane and Ireland, but who had made a *volte-face* on the eve of his return to Rome in 1896 where he was to receive the red hat and finally to assume his duties as Prefect of the Congregation of Studies. The press gave wide coverage to Keane's dismissal, and was almost unanimous in its sympathy for the dismissed rector, with the exception of some German language newspapers and the *Western Watchman* of St. Louis, edited by Father David S. Phelan.[20] The two most frequently mentioned causes for the dismissal were the differences of Keane and Satolli and the efforts of certain German-Americans, centering in Monsignor Joseph Schroeder of the University faculty, to remove this temperance advocate and Americanizer from the scene.

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[18] "Cardinals Who May Be the Next Pope," *Catholic World*, LXIX (July, 1899), 433-448. The *Concilionisti* were those who wished to arrive at some *modus vivendi* with the Italian government.

[19] The account of Keane's dismissal and its aftermath will be treated in a master's thesis now in preparation by Patrick H. Ahern at the Catholic University of America, under the title of "John J. Keane, First Rector of the Catholic University of America, 1887-1896." This study will give an extensive account of Keane and the University during those years, as well as the part that Keane played in the controversies of the day.

[20] The New York *World*, October 8, 1896, offered an interesting sample: "The Jesuits are the ones wholly responsible . . . . probably he might be found in Rome in the College of Cardinals, and in the person of the German Jesuit, Andreas Steinhuber Schroeder's Ordinary. Events will prove whether American Catholics will tamely allow Jesuitism to rule them."

McQuaid was exultant, and he hastened to communicate his joy to his friend, the Archbishop of New York:

> The news from Rome is astounding. The failure of the University is known in Rome at last, and the blame is thrown on Keane. Much of it is due to him, but other causes are there. These causes are irremediable now. The failure implicates the Holy Father, who was made to father the undertaking from the beginning.
>
> What collapses on every side! Gibbons, Ireland, and Keane!!! They were cock of the walk for a while and dictated to the country and thought to run our dioceses for us.[21]

Some weeks later he expressed his feeling of reassurance at the trend which had overtaken the party of the opposition:

> They are not talking now of knocking your mitre or mine off our heads. They had things their own way for a long time.[22]

Newspaper accounts foretold the dismissal of several professors in the University, and they even went so far as to say that Gibbons and Ireland were in danger of being removed from their positions because of liberalism.[23] However, a letter from Leo XIII reassured the wondering victims.[24] Keane was called to Rome, where, among other official positions, he became a canon of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, of which Cardinal Satolli was archpriest, as well as being made Archbishop of Damascus. Unofficially, he joined with O'Connell as a second representative of the Americanizers in Rome. In spite of all this, John Ireland was not cheerful:

> Of course Bp. Keane's presence in Rome will be a wonderful help. Our enemies did not know what they were doing when they had him removed from Washington. Was not Satolli's letter sweet? I frightened him in my last interview in Brooklyn. Nothing but stern courage on our part will avert disaster from us. We are timid children, & we are treated as children. Our enemies are not timid.

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[21] Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, III, 241. B. J. McQuaid to M. A. Corrigan, Rochester, October 3, 1896.

[22] NYAA, C-40-M, B. J. McQuaid to M. A. Corrigan, Rochester, November 13, 1896.

[23] New York *Tribune*, November 14, 1896.

[24] BCA, 94-U-2, Sebastian Martinelli to J. Card. Gibbons, Washington, December 2, 1897.

The University is dead: nothing can revive it. The Jesuits have triumphed here—for good.[25]

But John Ireland did not remain discouraged. He was not of the timid brand of men; he was a battler, and he was soon prepared for the "War of 1897."[26] The battlefield was an old one, the first major skirmish having taken place simultaneously with the Roman negotiations for the founding of the University. Ireland and Keane from Rome at that time had been able to gather almost unanimous support from the non-German-American bishops to remove the danger from the petition for national churches in America on an equal footing with the English-speaking parishes, a request submitted to Rome by the Reverend P. M. Abbelen, with the backing of a group of St. Louis priests.[27] The second attempt to obtain a better position for the Germans in America, the so-called Lucerne Memorial of the St. Raphael's Society, presented to the Pope on April 16, 1891, by Peter Paul Cahensly, brought equally speedy and almost unanimous opposition from America,[28] and resulted in deepening of distrust between the Americanizers and their opponents. Cahensly was unsuccessful in his attempts, but Joseph Pohle and Joseph Schroeder of the University faculty were prominent at the next convention of the St. Raphael's Society which took place in Mainz at the end of August, 1892. Schroeder spoke words of high praise for Cahensly in a speech which also lauded Corrigan, Katzer, and Ireland's most aggravating suffragan, Bishop Otto Zardetti of St. Cloud, for their defence of the parochial school.[29]

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[25] BCA, 94-U-1, John Ireland to J. Card. Gibbons, St. Paul, December 2, 1896.

[26] RDA, Thomas J. Shahan to D. J. O'Connell, Washington, February 21, 1898. "Ireland is here these days, very happy. We have lived over the War of 1897."

[27] John J. Meng, "Cahenslyism: The First Stage, 1883-1891." *Catholic Historical Review,* XXXI (January, 1946), 389-413. The two articles by Meng in the *Review,* the one mentioned above, and "Cahenslyism: The Second Chapter, 1891-1910," XXXII (October, 1946), 302-340, give the general picture of the German problem in the American Church, of which the present article forms but an incident.

[28] Cf. Meng, *op. cit.,* pp. 402-413. The figures on the losses of immigrants to the faith after arriving in America led the St. Raphael's Society, in conference at Lucerne, to ask for national churches for immigrants, with priests speaking their own language, and the preservation of the national tongue in the schools and churches as a means of preserving the immigrant's faith.

This incident was not the only thing that put Schroeder into disfavor with the liberals. He, in common with the majority of the Germans and other immigrant groups, was not hesitant in expressing his views on the question of temperance and on the manner of observing Sunday. On these two points, the liberals took a conservative stand, Keane and Ireland especially being strong protagonists for total abstinence. They were naturally opposed, therefore, to the saloons and beer-gardens doing business on Sundays. In this they had the strong support of many temperance societies which were then, perhaps, at the height of their influence and popularity. The Germans and the conservative school of thought generally favored neither the "Puritan Sunday" nor the confusing of temperance with total abstinence,[30] and their attitude furnished the cause for some of the strongest opposition to "Americanization."

The first result of the Mainz convention was an endeavor to rid the University of the two German professors who had made themselves so disliked by the "liberals." Cahensly was worried over such a possibility, for he wrote to Corrigan in his somewhat shaky English:

> I also know from very good authority, that Msgr. Ireland, during his stay in Rome, passed unfair remarks about Msgr. Dr. Schroeder and Dr. Pohle, professors at the Catholic University in Washington, saying, that they must quit their chairs. He now will surely, use all his endeavors with his friend Msgr. Keane, in order to get these men removed as soon as possible . . . . In the interest of the Catholic Church of America would I be sorry, were these learned men to get lost to the University.[31]

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[29] Meng, "Cahenslyism: The Second Chapter, 1891-1910," *op. cit.*, p. 329.

[30] Father George Zurcher, pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Buffalo, a Germanophobe and temperance fanatic, presented an interesting account of the part temperance played in the conflicts of the day and the active role played by Schroeder, Keane, and others in the question of Sunday observance and temperance. Although highly prejudiced in his interpretations, he did show the agitation of the day by quoting widely from German-American newspapers and other scattered sources. His work, published after the dismissal of Keane, entitled "Foreign Ideas in the Catholic Church in America," appeared in the *Roycroft Quarterly* (November, 1896).

[31] NYAA, C-41, P. P. Cahensly to M. A. Corrigan, Limburg a. d. Lahn, October 31, 1892.

Schroeder himself realized what was before him, and he did not hesitate to tell Archbishop Corrigan:

> Meanwhile the day which will decide my fate and that of Dr. Pohle draws near. I have many reasons to believe that my silence in the controversies of the day was not enough for Mgr. Keane or his friends and they are still determined to have their victim . . . . Nevertheless, those gentlemen of the University are badly mistaken if they think that I am going to resign without being forced to do so.[32]

The tenacity of Schroeder irked Keane, for he wrote to Denis O'Connell: "Schroeder holds on, & there is no way to oust him as yet, but he sees he has to be quiet."[33] Again in January, 1894, after Pohle had been invited to accept the chair of dogmatic theology at Münster, Keane wrote to O'Connell: "Pohle leaves us for a chair of Dogma in Münster. Would that Schroeder would do the same. He stands his ground, and the Board won't take action. But it won't last long so."[34]

The spring meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University in 1894 took place on April 4, during which a document of importance was presented. Pohle, in a long letter, tendered his resignation from the University and took occasion to unburden himself on the stand of Schroeder and himself. Schroeder, he said, had been abused because the professors of the University had been mixing in public questions of the day and taking a stand which he and Schroeder felt bound to oppose. He stated further:

> I pass a similar judgment upon his (Schroeder's) attitude in the s.c. movement against Cahenslyism. Whilst condemning in common with him the policy falsely ascribed to Mr. Cahensly, I have publicly protested in common with him against such a scandalous crusade, based upon calumnious misrepresentations. I do not regret it; I even declare that this unchristian agitation influenced not a little my determination to leave America. Certain parties have accused us of a narrow national spirit, from which we were and are still far removed, perhaps more so, than our accusers themselves.[35]

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[32] NYAA, Catholic University of America File, Jos. Schroeder to M. A. Corrigan, Staten Island, June 23, 1893.

[33] RDA, John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Atlantic City, October 10, 1893.

[34] RDA, John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Washington, January 5, 1894.

[35] BCA, 93-D-9, Jos. Pohle to the Board of Trustees, Washington, end of March, 1894.

At any rate, Pohle's resignation was accepted by the board, and Schroeder was left alone, if not in peace, at least not in open warfare. Except for a request from Cardinal Gibbons that Schroeder should contribute to the University *Bulletin,* to which he agreed,[36] the campaign to remove Schroeder was suspended until after the dismissal of Keane. Meanwhile Schroeder continued active in German-American circles, notably in the first convention of the Union of German Roman Catholic Societies of the State of New York, at which the title of "protector" was offered to Archbishop Corrigan. To encourage him to accept the title, it was mentioned that: "It may please Your Grace to learn . . .that Very Rev. Mgr. Schroeder, D.D. was actively guiding the meetings in their debates and in formulating the resolutions that were passed."[37]

With the removal of Bishop Keane as rector in September, 1896, the suspended campaign against Schroeder was taken up with a new vigor, and this time under a more personal aspect. It was believed by some that Schroeder had spent the summer of 1896 in Rome for the purpose of working against Keane, through the instrumentality of Andreas Cardinal Steinhuber, S.J., and other German and pro-German ecclesiastics. Schroeder made frequent denials that such had been the purpose of his visit, and he gave an interview which was reported in the press:

> In conversation with his holiness, Mgr. Schroeder discussed the affairs of the university, and especially the foundation of the chair of Germanic literature. In regard to this the Pope complimented the German Catholics very highly, both for their Americanism and their devotion to the church. He expressed his wish that the chair of Germanic literature be founded, and commissioned Mgr. Schroeder to convey that wish to the German Catholics in this country.
>
> Mgr. Schroeder laughed at the report that he was the head of the opposition among the professors at the university to the rector. "I am the only German here," said he, "and if I head the party, I am also the whole of it."[38]

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[36] BCA, 94-L-10, J. Card. Gibbons to Jos. Schroeder, Baltimore, April 23, 1896, copy; BCA, 94-L-13, Jos. Schroeder to J. Card. Gibbons, Washington, April 26, 1896.

[37] NYAA, G-19, J. Schaefer, Secretary, to M. A. Corrigan, New York, July 17, 1896.

[38] Washington *Post,* October 7, 1896. The German Roman Catholic Central Society, composed of German Catholic Benevolent Societies, at their convention

The choice of the new rector of the University, in November, 1896, in the person of Thomas J. Conaty, had its interesting aspects for the problems then at issue. Conaty was a priest of the Diocese of Springfield and a pastor in Worcester, Massachusetts, an active temperance worker as well as Irish by birth, Irish in outlook, a member of a number of Irish organizations, and his appointment would have been regarded as a direct blow to the German-Americans, if it were not for the fact that he was also a friend of Corrigan. The friendship of Dr. Conaty with the Archbishop of New York had arisen mainly through the Catholic Summer School near Plattsburg, New York, of which Conaty had been the president. In general, Conaty was looked on as a compromise candidate, although he had previously attracted the favorable attention of Satolli for his summer school work. Several German-American papers looked on his appointment as a victory for the Keane faction; one was puzzled by Satolli's action: "It is strange that Satolli, a partisan of the German element and one who has crossed the American party, should have recommended Conaty's appointment."[39] They were not the only people puzzled in their efforts to determine the motives that prompted Satolli's action in that year of 1896.

When the first stunning effect of Keane's removal had worn off, the forces began to assemble against Schroeder. By September, 1897, after a summer in which O'Connell could meet some of the University professors in Europe and prepare the way in Germany for support there, Archbishop Ireland was ready to make the meeting of the University Board of Trustees his battleground for the "War of 1897." It would be the first move to win back the ground lost by Keane's removal. He did not enter the battle alone, as he told O'Connell:

> Abp. Riordan will spend a week in St. Paul on his way to Washington . . . . He & I are hot against Schroeder: he will lead the fight. The

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in Detroit in September, 1896, had determined to raise $50,000 to found a chair for German language and literature in the University, before Keane's dismissal had been known. Cf. NYAA, G-25, Anton Bickle to M. A. Corrigan, Milwaukee, April 5, 1897. While there had been German opposition to the University from the beginning there also had been German support, for at no time did the Germans form a solid block.

[39] *Morgan Journal* (New York), November 21, 1896.

> obstacle is C. Gibbons, who talks of giving a monitum to Schr. I wish you would at once write to the Cardinal a very strong letter, giving him an idea of the support we have in Germany . . . . If Maes stands with us, I have hopes: Corrigan and Ryan will vote to gain friends—and not for the University; Williams & Gibbons will want peace.[40]

Neither did he enter the battle unopposed, for Bishop Horstmann of Cleveland had written to Corrigan, "I depend on you to be present at the meeting of the University Board Oct. 20 to support me if any action is taken against Monsy. Schroeder."[41]

In the meeting of the trustees, at the conclusion of the rector's report, Conaty spoke concerning the internal condition of the institution. He presented the charges against Schroeder and, for the welfare of the University, as rector he demanded that his resignation be requested. The battle was on, with Horstmann, Corrigan, and Ryan arrayed against Ireland, Maes, Riordan, Placide L. Chapelle, and Keane, who returned yearly from Rome to attend the meetings, for, while his resignation as rector had been accepted, the board would not allow him to resign from his trusteeship. The charges in general were that Schroeder had taken practically no part in University life during the past years and that he was a source of contention among the faculty. After heated discussion a resolution was drawn up which asked for Schroeder's resignation. Gibbons, the chancellor, then had to read a cablegram which he had received from Cardinal Rampolla, the papal Secretary of State: "The Holy Father has given Schroeder of the Cath. Univ. to understand that it would be better for him not to resign. Now it appears that the Board of Bishops intend to force him to do so. Y. E. will, if occasion requires, with delicacy and prudence call their attention to the unfittingness of such a measure."[42] When the vote on the resolution was taken, the result was ten to four in favor of dismissal, but it was also voted to delay action until the reasons for Schroeder's dismissal could be laid before the Holy Father. This ended the first session, but when the trustees assembled the next morning, Gibbons stated that things might be settled more easily if some assurance could be received that Schroeder would resign. Horstmann agreed to do what he could to secure such assurance. In the afternoon session he was able to produce a letter from Professor Schroeder, in which, after an explanation of all the circumstances, including the fact that he had returned to the University in the fall of 1897 only at the insistence of the Pope and of Cardinal Steinhuber, Schroeder stated that he would be ready to resign whenever the Pope would give permission. With this statement, the entire case was forwarded to the Holy See and temporarily allowed to rest in America.[43]

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[40] RDA, John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, September 13, 1897.

[41] NYAA, C-40-h, Ign. F. Horstmann to M. A. Corrigan, Cleveland, September 29, 1897.

[42] Archives of the Catholic University of America, Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees (hereafter referred to as ACUA, MMBT), October 20, 1897, p. 73, Cardinal Rampolla to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, October 16, 1897.

Through some unknown source, the charges presented against Schroeder leaked out to the newspapers, which published on October 21 and 22, accounts of the affair that were highly uncomplimentary to Monsignor Schroeder. As a result Schroeder made his own letter to the Board of Trustees public, and informed Gibbons of the fact.[44] Although Schroeder had not yet resigned, enough had been accomplished for the friends of Keane to rejoice, and to warrant revealing definitely that arrangements had previously been made to effect the removal of Schroeder. Archbishop Chapelle wrote to O'Connell:

> The University meeting and the Conference of the Metropolitans have been held & I take the first opportunity to inform you that I have *kept my pledges* to the very best of my ability. Schroeder has been practically ousted & I did my best by word and vote to reach that happy consummation. Card. Steinhuber's interference alone prevented absolute and final action on the part of the Board.[45]

Thomas J. Shahan, professor of church history in the University, also joined the list of those writing to O'Connell in exultation:

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[43] ACUA, MMBT, October 21, 1897, pp. 74-76. These are the official minutes as presented by Horstmann. However, a letter from Maes, in the files of the trustees, written to Conaty on November 19, 1897, from Covington, gives a slightly different account, although it is not in conflict with what is presented in the text above.

[44] BCA, 95-U-7, Jos. Schroeder to J. Card. Gibbons, Washington, October 22, 1897.

[45] RDA, P. L. Chapelle to D. J. O'Connell, New York, October 23, 1897.

> It was a terrible siege. Of a great battle nothing was wanting but the guns and the smoke. For the rest, feeling and passion just raged behind the doors of the senate-room where it all went on, in McMahon Hall. You know all up to our departure. As soon as we came back we started in, and secured sufficient evidence.[46]

Another member of the University faculty, most probably Charles P. Grannan, professor of sacred scripture, added his version to Monsignor O'Connell:

> The battle is over & we remain to tell the tale. We tore him up root, trunk & branch .... It was a test of strength of the two parties. While the *battle* is over, the *war* is not yet ended .... You can see that the promises made in the "Hotel Engel" have been kept. Even the Pontifical bombshell exploded in our camp on the 20th inst., did not make me budge one inch or lose one particle of hope.[47]

But all the interested parties in the meeting were not in a happy mood, for Horstmann wrote to Gibbons:

> Poor Schroeder! I pass over the whole long conspiracy against him. I felt sure that if I secured from him the assurance that he would leave at the end of this year that all proceedings against him would drop, but it seems that as far as they can they are determined to crucify him .... I am sick of the whole affair but convinced also that he will find Justice in Rome. I know and he realizes and did realize last year that Drs. Shahan and Grannan would never rest until he left.[48]

Cardinal Rampolla finally transmitted Leo XIII's permission for Schroeder to resign, provided his good name be preserved. The Rampolla letter arrived at the Apostolic Delegation in Washington at the end of November.[49] After some reports that Schroeder would join Monsignor Joseph Jessing at the Pontifical College Josephinum near Columbus, Ohio, it was announced from Berlin on December 5 by the Prussian Minister of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs that Schroeder had been appointed to the Catholic Academy of Münster. This allowed a graceful means for Schroeder to tender his resignation from the University on December 29, the day after he received his official appointment.[50] After a farewell dinner at Columbus, Ohio, before forty-five German-American priests from all over the United States, with a final jab at the American liberals, Schroeder departed in February, 1898, to take up his new position at Münster.[51]

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[46] RDA, T. J. S.[hahan] to D. J. O'Connell, Washington, October 23, 1897.

[47] RDA, ———— to D. J. O'Connell, Philadelphia postmark, October 25, 1897. This is one of a very interesting series of letters in the Richmond archives, which are either anonymous or are written over the name of Jeshurun, Grapeshot, Grapes, G. P. S. T., or C. P. G., all of which point definitely to Charles P. Grannan as their writer.

[48] BCA, 95-U-12, Ign. F. Horstmann to J. Card. Gibbons, Philadelphia, October 27, 1897.

[49] BCA, 95-V-7, Cardinal Rampolla to Sebastian Martinelli, Rome, November 13, 1897. Cf. BCA, 95-V-14, Cardinal Rampolla to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, November 29, 1897.

Meanwhile Archbishop Ireland was able to sit back and review his "War of 1897" with complacency. His cohorts had worked well, and he gave special commendation to Monsignor O'Connell for his efforts:

> Your letters from Germany were intensely interesting—as your work there was surprisingly effective . . . . Your work in Rome during our Washington meeting & since then gave us a victory . . . . The downfall of Schroeder is the end of the anti-liberalism, & of Cahenslyism, and a great defeat for Corrigan.[52]

Shahan stated, "It has taken a 'Combinazione' to secure justice, but it has worked, and the results must be appalling to the other side."[53] Ireland also had his own opinion about Schroeder's appointment to Münster which he confided to O'Connell:

> The "Germania" comments on the promptness with which the Centrum & the Prussian Minister took up Schroeder. You see, Germany is grateful to him. He was doing her work in America. He was a Cahenslyite—but the last of the Mohicans. The greatest and last battle of the war has been fought and won.[54]

It appeared that Ireland was correct, that he had won the fight, and that he had vindicated the philosophy of life which he had expressed in 1887:

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[50] BCA, 95-V-1, Jos. Schroeder to J. Card. Gibbons, Washington, December 9, 1897. He had promised his resignation before the first of the year in a letter to Gibbons on December 14. Cf. BCA, 95-W-4.

[51] New York *Tribune*, February 11, 1898.

[52] RDA, John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, December 3, 1897.

[53] RDA, T. J. Shahan to D. J. O'Connell, Washington, December 19, 1897.

[54] RDA, John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, January 8, 1898.

> Success is not the test of valor or merit. If we never venture, we never win. The conservatism which wishes to be safe is dry-rot . . . . The timid move in crowds, the brave in single file . . . . The Church in America must be, of course, as Catholic as in Jerusalem or Rome; but so far as her garments may be colored to suit environment, she must be American.
>
> There is danger: we receive large accessions of Catholics from foreign countries. God witnesses that they are welcome. I will not intrude on their personal affections and tastes; but these, if foreign, shall not encrust themselves upon the church.[55]

With the removal of Joseph Schroeder, Ireland thought that the battle was over. Yet it was merely the lull before the storm, for soon the Archbishop of St. Paul would be fighting one of his greatest struggles, a struggle that would bring either vindication or an absolute condemnation of most of the principles upon which he had based his public policy and his career as an American churchman.

While Ireland was fighting the "War of 1897," a new effort was being prepared against him. The removal of O'Connell and Keane had been but skirmishes in the major attempt that was soon to take place. Apart from the modernism in theological circles which was developing in France, the political situation in France, Germany, and Italy was responsible for a growing interest in the democracy of the United States and especially in the Catholic participation in that democratic life. The unification of Germany, under the direction of Bismark, and the opposition of the Catholic Center Party in the German Empire to the Kulturkampf, had intensified German interest in Catholic activities in America. This interest continued to be stimulated by Denis O'Connell through Father Franz Xaver Kraus, the ecclesiastical and art historian, as well as liberal political journalist, who was in frequent correspondence with O'Connell, and who received from the latter American newspaper clippings as well as letters of encouragement and instruction.[56] Italy was still deeply stirred by the rapid rise of the house of Savoy and the limitation of the temporal power of the Pope, and so the *Concilionisti* followed American activities with the view to their offering, perhaps, a pattern for the settlement of the difficulties between the Vatican and the Italian government.[57] But it was France that was to be the main battleground, with America brought into the conflict between the conservative monarchists and the liberal republicans. Ireland, reputedly at the request of Leo XIII, had, in June, 1892, lectured in France on the American democracy and the necessity of co-operating with the spirit of the age in an attempt to gain the monarchists to participate in the government of France, and thus instill Catholic principles and philosophy into the policies of the republic. For this effort Archbishop Ireland became, naturally enough, *persona non grata* to the French monarchists.

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[55] John Ireland, *The Church and Modern Society* (Chicago, 1897), I, 71-73. These excerpts are from "The Mission of Catholics in America," a sermon delivered by Ireland in Baltimore at the centennial of the American hierarchy on November 10, 1889.

[56] These clippings were gathered in the United States by Grannan of the University faculty and others, sent to O'Connell, and relayed to Kraus. Kraus had taken part in the campaign against Schroeder, and was supposedly influential in changing German opinion, as the O'Connell letters (from Grannan

The French adaptation of Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker,*[58] with an introduction by John Ireland and a thirty-five page preface by Abbé Felix Klein of the Catholic Institute of Paris, was a serious matter for the French conservatives. Klein, as the London *Tablet* wrote, "rather out-Heckers Hecker,"[59] for he had improperly emphasized Hecker's doctrine on individualism, the unimportance of the vows of religious, and the greater dependence on the direct action of the Holy Spirit. This was seized upon by the conservatives, "Martel" and "Saint-Clement," through the pages of *La Vérité*. Keane, in January, 1898, thought things were peaceful in Rome,[60] but Abbé

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and Ireland as well as many letters from Kraus to O'Connell), in the archives of the Diocese of Richmond, show.

[57] Especially was this shown by the continued friendship of Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli and his brother Vincenzo Cardinal Vannutelli, noted *Concilionisti,* with O'Connell, Keane, and Ireland.

[58] *Le Père Hecker Fondateur des "Paulists" Américains 1819-1888,* par Le Père W. Elliot de la même Compagnie. Traduit et adapté de l'Anglais avec autorisation de l'auteur. Introduction par Mgr. Ireland. Préface par l'Abbé Félix Klein (Paris, 1897).

[59] The *Tablet* (London), March 18, 1899.

[60] BCA, 96-A-10, John J. Keane to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, January 24, 1898: "Thanks to the French "Life of Father Hecker" and Mgr. O'Connell's Essay on Americanism, more attention is of late being expended on these subjects than ever before. That spirit of narrowness of course manifests itself, but the bulk of sentiment is on our side."

Alphonse Magnien, the Baltimore Sulpician who was one of Gibbons' closest advisers, was then in Paris. Thus closer to the secen he could write to Edward Dyer, S.S.:

> Just now there is in the french [*sic*] clergy a certain amount of excitement raised by Fr. Hecker's life translated into french [*sic*] by Abbé Klein: of course the Jesuits are the men who condemn loudest . . . . one of them spoke against it in the pulpit of St. Sulpice to the great disgust of the American and even many french [*sic*] Seminarians. I hear from very reliable sources that they exert themselves to have the book put on the index: Would not this be a very skillful way of reaching Abp. Ireland who wrote the preface?[61]

By April, 1898, Keane had identified "Martel" and "Saint-Clement" of *La Vérité* and to encourage Walter Elliott of the Paulists he wrote:

> The article in the Verité was written by a priest named Maignen,[62] who made himself notorious some years ago by his attacks on the Count de Mun for having accepted the direction of the Holy Father in regard to the action of Catholics in France. He is noted as hot-brained and unscrupulous. He has as his partner in this business Dr. Peries whom we removed from his post as professor of Canon Law in the University, and who is trying to take the revenge which he threatened. He writes in the Verité also under the name of St. Clement.[63]

In that same year of 1898 the articles of Maignen were published in book form under the title of *Etudes sur l'Américanisme, le Père Hecker: est-il un saint?*[64] The strong vitriolic tone of these articles, which in book form bore the *imprimatur* of Albert Lepidi, O.P., Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome, meant that, as Keane again remarked, "the enemy overreached themselves astonishingly, and gave us an opportunity to enter protests in the Vatican . . . we have spiked their guns."[65] To make certain that the guns remained spiked, Cardinal Gibbons wrote a long letter, in August, to Cardinal Rampolla, protesting that to the uninitiated, the *imprimatur* of Lepidi on Maignen's book, might well appear as papal approval of the attacks on certain members of the American hierarchy contained therein.[66] On September 13, Ireland congratulated Gibbons on the stand he had taken, and he also offered the Cardinal of Baltimore encouragement by saying:

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[61] St. Mary's Seminary Archives, Roland Park, Baltimore, A. Magnien to Edward Dyer, Paris, December 6, 1897.

[62] Abbé Charles Maignen of the Congregation of the Brothers of St. Vincent De Paul.

[63] PFA-A, John J. Keane to Walter Elliott, Rome, April 19, 1898.

[64] Charles Maignen, *Le Père Hecker—Est-il un saint?* (Paris, 1898).

[65] PFA-A, John J. Keane to Walter Elliott, Paris, July 4, 1898.

> I believe the Vatican is disposed to regret the "Imprimatur." I have received a very full letter from Card. Rampolla, in which he expresses the Pope's "vivo desiderio" that I do what I can for the protection of Catholic interests in the countries lost to Spain's domination—and in which also he reiterates his assurance that I may very safely leave the "Maignen" book to the Pope who will in his good time speak and act.[67]

On September 23, Rampolla addressed a letter to Gibbons and assured him that Lepidi had meant no insult to any member of the American hierarchy, and that "in regard to the teachings of P. Hecker His Holiness will himself write Your Eminence a personal letter."[68]

In spite of McQuaid's warning to Corrigan that the Paulists "should not be made scapegoats to cover Ireland, Keane & Co.,"[69] the Archbishop of New York, in the October, 1898, meeting of the American metropolitans, merely read the strong and convincing memorial of Father George Deshon exonerating the Paulists, and moved that the archbishops not interfere, since Leo XIII was preparing an encyclical on the matter.[70] Ireland, who was absent from the meeting, expressed his disdain for this cautious action and he outlined his future plans in a subsequent letter to Elliott:

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[66] BCA, 96-M-6, J. Card. Gibbons to M. Card. Rampolla, Baltimore, August 27, 1898. In the French rough draft, although crossed out later, Maignen's collaborator is identified as "Dr. Peries whom we were obliged to send away from our University where he was teaching Canon Law." The gravity of the affair was summarized by Gibbons: "Knowing that their main author, Father Maignen, was a worthless individual and little appreciated in his own country, I paid no attention to the articles. But the situation is completely changed today. The *imprimatur* granted that libel by the Master of the Sacred Palace gives it the importance of a serious and trustworthy piece of work. It is on account of that *imprimatur* that I believe it is my duty to write to Your Eminence in such a fashion as this." The original French version was written in the hand of the Baltimore Sulpician, Abbé Magnien.

[67] BCA, 96-N-4, John Ireland to J. Card. Gibbons, St. Paul, September 13, 1898. This was the period immediately after the Spanish-American War, which Ireland had sought to prevent by diplomatic measures.

[68] BCA, 96-N-6, M. Card. Rampolla to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, September 23, 1898.

[69] NYAA, C-40-M, B. J. McQuaid to M. A. Corrigan, Rochester, August 30, 1898.

> You, no doubt, have heard how your cause was treated at the meeting. The Archbishop of New York timidly and as acting under protest, offered a paper from the Paulists—& added at once his own opinion, which was that the hierarchy of America should lie low in this war. No voice bellowed out in the name of justice—and all was over.
>
> It is as well: I like to fight—and to conquer with few allies. You owe nothing, or but little, when the victory is won.
>
> We are going to win—The last letter I have from Card. Rampolla, written on the field itself—in the Vatican, is most encouraging. Besides I shall soon invade Africa and either Lepidi or Ireland will go into winter quarters. I expect to be in Rome about Christmas.[71]

Before John Ireland departed for Rome in January, 1899, favorable accounts of the situation there were sent by Keane and O'Connell. Keane told Gibbons of an audience that Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli had with the Pope:

> The Pope then went on to say: They (without saying *who*) have been urging me to be *severe* with the Americans; but I am convinced that gentle measures will do more good." . . . . Then he gave him the points of the Encyclical now being prepared for us: 1. Church & State; 2. Individualism; 3. The vows. As to each, only the familiar warning not to represent the contingently useful as the *ideal*. So we may hope there is no danger ahead.[72]

A month later O'Connell told Father Elliott that the complaints from America "shook" the Pope, and that Leo XIII had then reserved the entire matter to himself.[73] Although Ireland hurried to Rome to prevent it, the *Testem Benevolentiae* letter of the Holy Father was issued on January 22, 1899, before he arrived. The greatest surprise, and a grave obstacle which Ireland found in Rome, was the letter which Corrigan had written to Lepidi congratulating him and approving of the course he had taken in giving the *imprimatur* to Maignen's book. Although Archbishop Ireland readily submitted to the Pope's letter, he privately felt "Fanatics conjured up an 'Americanism'—& put such before the Pope. Lepidi & Mazzela [*sic*] wrote the body of the letter—I cannot pray that God forgive them."[74] The Archbishop of St. Paul received some encouragement from Cardinal Rampolla who hinted at an approach to the delicate situation, which Ireland quickly seized upon and promoted. He gave an account of what was happening in Rome to Father George Deshon, and he said that Rampolla had softened the letter in the beginning and the end in deference to him (Ireland) and "that the words of the letter allow us to say that the things condemned were never said or written in America not even by Hecker—but were set afloat in France—as 'Americanism'. . . . & he added I should do my best to spread this view."[75] This became the line of thought that Ireland followed in his letter of submission to Leo XIII, as it was the line taken by a majority of the American secular press.

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[70] Holden, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-168. Cf. PFA-A, containing a note by Elliott dated November 23, 1913, which stated: "In one of my interviews with Archp. Corrigan during the Americanism troubles he said squarely to me: 'The main trouble with your life of Hecker at Rome is due to your connection with Archp. Ireland & Bishop Keane, who are in great disfavor there. If you publicly repudiate them all will go well.' I told him that we could not do that."

[71] PFA-A, John Ireland to Walter Elliott, St. Paul, November 6, 1898.

[72] BCA, 96-S-8, John J. Keane to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, November 9, 1898.

[73] PFA-A, D. J. O'Connell to Walter Elliott, Rome, December 10, 1898.

However, the pattern of reception for the letter suggested by Rampolla, and encouraged by the Archbishop of St. Paul, was not followed unanimously in the United States. Corrigan wrote the Pope to thank him for the letter which would help save America from the threatened heresy. The bishops of the Province of Milwaukee went a step further, and in their joint letter, besides thanking the Holy Father, they condemned those who, following the letter of the papal document rather than the spirit, excused themselves from ever having been guilty of the errors therein condemned. McQuaid, in a sermon in the cathedral of Rochester on June 25, 1899, put the capstone on the arguments against those who were excusing themselves, by saying: "Yet there was a species of 'Americanism' which the Holy Father had condemned prior to his encyclical of last February."[76] He mentioned four points especially which were "specimens of 'Americanism';" the participation of the liberals in the Chicago World's Parliament of Religions; their stand on the Faribault School Controversy; their defence of certain secret societies;[77] and:

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[74] PFA-A, John Ireland to George Deshon, Rome, February 24, 1899. Cardinals Mazzella and Satolli formed the first investigating committee.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] Rochester *Union and Advertiser,* June 26, 1899.

> The fourth exhibition of advanced Catholic Americanism came before the American public when a Catholic ecclesiastic took his stand before a non-Catholic university in his clerical robes to advertise to the community the new born liberalism of the Catholic church in entering into the halls and chapels of non-Catholic universities.[78]

Georges Peries, too, had a final thrust at his opponents, an account of which was given to Archbishop Ireland by Abbé Magnien of Baltimore:

> Peries, in his triumph, thought of being witty and sarcastic at my expense: he sent me by mail his card with the following.
>
> "Abbe G. Peries . . . found out already last year, about the unfavorable remarks M. Magnien made concerning him and, if he delayed telling him of the little attention he paid them, it is because he preferred waiting for the manifestation of the Holy Father's opinion on Americanism. Therefore, today he offers St. Mary's Superior the assurance of his fitting regards and of his sympathetic congratulations."
>
> In answer I sent my card as follows:
>
> "Very Rev. A. Magnien . . . assures M. Peries that he does not feel himself the least bit affected by the condemnation of Americanism. The Holy Father very justly stigmatizes, not what exists in America, but what the double-dealing and hatred of certain individuals called Americanism. St. Mary's Superior offers M. the ex-professor of the Catholic University of Washington, the congratulations he deserves for the important part he took in that glorious campaign and assures him that his sentiments in his regard remain the same as ever."[79]

This bit of repartee between the two French priests influenced the next part of the campaign. On June 17, 1899, the *New Era* of London, under the heading "The Real Author of 'Americanism'," issued an exposé of Peries as the "Saint-Clement" of the articles which were being written at the time against Archbishop Ireland, who was then lecturing in France. The account told of Peries' dismissal from the University and also charged that: "It is this ex-professor who was, at least in the initial stages, the inspirer of what is popularly known as the Anti-American campaign in France—a combination which for two years past has saddened the Catholic world." The *New Era* went further, and supplied Peries' motive by giving extracts from the minutes of the autumn, 1896, meeting of the University's Board of Trustees, quoting from Peries' letter to Horstmann:

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[77] Referring indirectly to the Knights of Labor and the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

[78] Rochester *Union and Advertiser, loc. cit.* This is a reference to Keane's delivery of one of the Dudleian lectures at Harvard University on October 24, 1890.

[79] RDA, A. Magnien to John Ireland, Baltimore, March 9, 1899. In the original the quotations were given in French.

> I do not want any scandal, but I must warn you that if something is made against me, the country at large and the Roman competent congregations will know what has been the spirit of this house, and I will do that, not in view of a mean revenge, but for the interests of the Church.
>
> I hope, nevertheless, that nothing will be necessary and that I will not be obliged for the honor of my name, and the defence of my interests to enter a struggle which would prove disadvantageous for several, and for the great aim we have in view for this Institution.[80]

This publication of the London journal did much to discredit the sincerity of those who were opposed to the so-called Americanism, as it received wide notice, and in the estimation of the New York *Tribune,* "The interest of the document lies in this—it proves that the agitation which has so moved the Church, both in France and in America sprang from a source contaminated by a purely personal quarrel."[81]

An interesting sequel to this exposé was supplied in the next three meetings of the Board of Trustees of the University. In the October, 1899, meeting, Bishop Horstmann, the secretary rose on a question of privilege, and demanded an explanation of how the *New Era* had obtained its information, since he, as secretary, had been responsible for the minutes. Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco moved that a committee of two be appointed to study the question and thus the matter was delayed for another year.[82] At the autumn meeting of the board in 1900 Gibbons explained that "a very worthy Ecclesiastic applied to the University authorities in the name of a member of the Board of Trustees for the extract of the Minutes."[83] The Bishop of Cleveland thereupon asked that the name of the board member who had made the request, be made known, but his request was voted down since the presumed prelate was absent. The question came up once more at the next meeting, when Horstmann again insisted that the member's name be given, but "he declared himself satisfied when Archbishop Ireland acknowledged, readily, that it was he who used the letter of Dr. Peries and published it in the papers. Incident closed."[84]

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[80] *New Era* (London), June 17, 1899.

[81] New York *Tribune,* June 29, 1899.

[82] ACUA, MMBT, October 11, 1899, p. 85.

John Ireland could be sure of himself then, for by this time he was back in favor in Rome and had so informed Mrs. Bellamy Storer in August, 1900:

> Well, "mon accueil" could not possibly be better. It surprises me. The evident purpose is to make me understand beyond a possible doubt that I am in high favor, that they are all delighted with me that need my cooperation, and are resolved to have [it].
>
> The Pope told me to forget that letter on Americanism, which has no application except in a few dioceses in France![85]

This favorable impression continued in Rome, for Bishop Thomas O'Gorman of Sioux Falls, former professor of church history in the University, was able to report to Gibbons nearly two years later that, "On all sides it is proclaimed that Americanism, which was supposed to be our defeat, has been turned into a glorious Victory. We are surely on top."[86]

The Americanizers were at last victorious, at least in their own understanding of the situation. That was not enough. The first phase of the Americanism struggle had ended with the victory of the conservatives in the dismissal of Keane. The second phase had appeared as a defeat for the Americanizers with the publication of the *Testem Benevolentiae,* but it had resulted ultimately in their vindication. The third phase was to be the public approval of the Americanizers. Denis O'Connell was still enduring his Roman exile, but it was an exile that would soon be terminated and that in a way to bring a change, too, at the University in Washington.

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[83] ACUA, MMBT, October 10, 1900, p. 91. Bishop Maes of Covington began acting as secretary this year and he continued in this office for several years.

[84] ACUA, MMBT, November 20, 1901, p. 95.

[85] Maria Longworth Storer, *In Memoriam Bellamy Storer* (privately printed, 1923), pp. 46-47. John Ireland to Mrs. Storer, Rome, August 5, 1900. The support of Ireland was needed in the question of the Church lands in the Philippines and Cuba.

[86] BCA, 99-R-6, Thos. O'Gorman to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, May 17, 1902.

The final campaign originated from the University by one who was a friend of Monsignor O'Connell, a professor who had come to entertain a strong dislike for Bishop Conaty, the rector. Charles P. Grannan, professor of sacred scripture in the University, began his campaign in June, 1901, by arranging to meet O'Connell in Europe during that summer. In July he was in Switzerland, supposedly for his health, but as he wrote O'Connell, "Between ourselves, I am not at all a sick man, as you will soon see, but am here, not because I am sick, but lest I should become sick. . . . The conclusion is that I can get out of here almost any time and meet you wherever you choose."[87] The first meeting came off and the groundwork was laid for the final struggle. When Grannan returned to Washington he seized every opportunity to expose the defects in the administration of the rector of the University, and defects there were. Grannan kept up a steady correspondence with O'Connell, feeling safe in so doing since the letters were all signed with false names, many of them written as if from a third person, all of them sharply critical of Conaty. Many statements made in the letters were inaccurate, all of them breathed a biased spirit, and several of them carried the instruction that they should be destroyed upon receipt. The fact that Thomas Conaty had been consecrated as titular Bishop of Samos on November 21, 1901, and that the vice rector, Philip J. Garrigan, had been appointed as Bishop of Sioux City, Iowa, on January 29, 1902, served only to increase the bitterness of Grannan.

The University was, it is true, not in a flourishing condition in 1902. With all the conflicts into which it had been drawn, the clashing personalities within the Board of Trustees and within the faculty, the slight support the institution received from the country at large, and the very limited financial resources at its disposal, it was a wonder that it was able to survive at all, to say nothing of making progress. Conaty had worked to the best of his ability for the success of the University. He had organized the Conference of Catholic Colleges in 1899 to bring a much-needed integration to Catholic education. He had, perhaps a bit hesitatingly, been active in the Association of American Universities from its inception in 1900. He had formed a conference of seminary presidents in 1898 to set standards for seminaries that would establish the proper curriculum for seminary graduates to enter immediately into graduate work at the University. But he was not successful in producing funds nor in keeping peace in his faculty. Ignoring what he had done so well, Grannan stressed what Conaty did not do, and he made his own very considerable contribution to see that peace did not reign in the faculty. In January, 1902, he wrote a letter to the Dean of the School of Theology, emphasizing all the troubles within the University.[88] The letter, as Grannan intended, reached the special investigating committee of the Board of Trustees, which held a week long investigation at the University in February. The committee, composed of Archbishop Keane, Bishops Spalding and Maes, had in Grannan's eye, scored a success:

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[87] RDA, C. P. Grannan to D. J. O'Connell, Tarasp, Switzerland, July 5, 1901. This letter is unsigned but it is in Grannan's hand.

> Success? Yes? Well! I should say so; humming success; thundering success; success all along the line. . . . One man's reputation as an administrator is torn to tatters. One rascal told everything. . . . The only question now asked is, who is going to succeed to his place?[89]

Professor Grannan went to Europe again in the summer of 1902 and there he held two important meetings, the one with O'Connell and the other with Satolli. In January, 1902, Grannan had been appointed to the Pontifical Biblical Commission, and he used that fact as the reason for his trip to Rome. With the arrival of Grannan in Europe the campaign went into high gear. Cardinal Satolli was informed of the perilous condition of the University through the prejudiced account of Grannan and the cardinal, Prefect of the Congregation of Studies, and promised to support Monsignor O'Connell for the rectorship when Conaty's first term of office should expire in January, 1903. Grannan then brought Gibbons, unsuspecting, into the fold and told him that Satolli favored O'Connell as the next rector of the University.[90] Although Gibbons was amazed that Satolli should now have changed over to favoring O'Connell after seven years of disapproval, he was pleased, for O'Connell had always remained a favorite of the Archbishop of Baltimore even when his fortunes were at the lowest ebb. Gibbons was unwilling, however, to leave Conaty unprovided for and forgotten. Keane, too, was surprised, but pleased, when he was informed of what was happening, and he wrote O'Connell, "*A soul* is needed for the institution; and you have it in you to be that. All will hinge on getting Conaty into some See—Los Angeles for example."[91] John Ireland and John Lancaster Spalding likewise favored the idea of O'Connell as rector of the University, and by the time of the meeting of the Board of Trustees in November, 1902, all that stood in the way of success was: what disposition was to be made of Bishop Conaty? Gibbons was under the impression that only one name needed to be sent to Rome as the board's choice for rector, and in that case he intended to insist on Conaty, but a hasty cablegram from Riordan, then in Rome after presenting the question of the Pious Fund to the Hague Tribunal, brought word that the Pope expected a *terna,*[92] so the embarrassment of a single name for the rectorship was removed. The *terna* put Conaty in first place, O'Connell second, and Thomas J. Shahan third, with the tacit understanding that Conaty would be passed over at Rome and O'Connell chosen.[93]

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[88] ACUA, Trustees' file, Chas. P. Grannan to the Very Rev. Dean and Faculty of Theology, Washington, January 6, 1902.

[89] RDA, Jeshurun to Doktor (Grannan to O'Connell), postmarked Washington, February 11, 1902.

Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco returned from Rome in November, 1902, and from him Gibbons and Ireland had assurance that Conaty would definitely be appointed as Bishop of Monterey—Los Angeles.[94] The final step came on January 12, 1903, when Pope Leo XIII signed two papal decrees, the one transferred the jurisdiction over the University from the Congregation of the Propaganda to the Congregation of Studies, presided over by Cardinal Satolli; the other appointed Monsignor Denis J. O'Connell rector of the University.[95] At the meeting of the trustees on April 22, 1903, Conaty's resignation was accepted, prior to his departure for Los Angeles, and O'Connell was inaugurated as the third rector of the Catholic University of America. The course was run.

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[90] BCA, 99-W-5, Chas. P. Grannan to J. Card. Gibbons, Rigi-Scheidegg, Switzerland, August 20, 1902. Cf. RDA, Jeshurun to Doc (Grannan to O'Connell), Rotterdam, September 18, 1902.

[91] RDA, John J. Keane to D. J. O'Connell, Dubuque, September 26, 1902.

[92] BCA, 100-C-4, 100-C-4/1, P. W. Riordan to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, October 29, 1902. The Pious Fund originated in donations given for missionary work in the Californias, and at the time of the Mexican War it was being administered by the government of Mexico. The claims of the American bishops in California for their just share in this fund remained unsettled for years.

[93] ACUA, MMBT, November 12, 1902, p. 102 and RDA, unsigned letter of Grannan to O'Connell, no place or date given.

The years of struggle were over and peace had finally come to the Church in America. The Apostolic Delegation had been firmly established and the public press was no longer able to air the differences which arose among the leaders of American Catholicism. One warrior passed from the field on May 5, 1902, with the death of Archbishop Corrigan of New York. Ireland and McQuaid in time sheathed their swords, and Cardinal Gibbons, the conciliator, could relax his vigil as his years approached the traditional three score and ten. John Ireland, with his flare for apt phrasing, summed up the situation for O'Connell:

> Farley is ostentatiously reversing in all points the Corrigan regime. He proclaims, "in plateis" his friendship for me. McQuaid, too, is my staunch admirer. Le monde est à rebours. Vive l'américanisme.[96]

And about six weeks later the Archbishop of St. Paul heralded the triumph in ringing words to his friend still in Rome:

> The associated-press dispatch from Rome this morning tells us of the significance in Rome of your appointment. And the significance in America! . . . "O'Connell in Washington—Simply impossible." Well, he is here—Viva l'Americanismo! Viva sempre![97]

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[94] RDA, J. Card. Gibbons to D. J. O'Connell, Baltimore, November 29, 1902 and RDA, John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, New York, December 7, 1902.

[95] Boston *Pilot,* January 17, 1903; BCA, 100-G-2, F. Card. Satolli to J. Card. Gibbons, Rome, January 14, 1903.

[96] RDA, John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, New York, December 7, 1902.

[97] RDA, John Ireland to D. J. O'Connell, St. Paul, January 14, 1903.

MISCELLANY

THE FAMILY BACKGROUND OF CHIEF JUSTICE WHITE

By Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer*

Aside from one or two casual references to distinguished colonial ancestry, the family background of Edward Douglas White, ninth Chief Justice of the United States, is comparatively obscure. His own life's history is sufficiently arresting in itself, with its dramatic contrast of early Confederate service and later juristic attainments in the Supreme Court, to provide writers with ample material for comment. In only a few cases have there been attempts to investigate the ancestry from which he came, and in these attempts the emphasis has been largely on White's paternal forebears.[1]

Yet examination of the genealogy of the chief justice discloses a series of persons distinguished in colonial affairs. Not one but several colonial governors, members of colonial councils and legislatures, men and women of distinctive achievement in the early years of the national history contributed to form the ancestral background which the chief justice, so far as can be discovered, barely mentioned. One of his few references to the subject was contained in a letter to the editor of the *Georgetown College Journal*, in response to a request for biographical data. The then associate justice wrote:

> I have always felt a very great reluctance to preparing sketches to be published concerning myself; indeed, that reluctance has been so great that I have invariably abstained from doing so. You will find in the Congressional Record a brief statement which was prepared when I was a member of the Senate, and in the Digest to the Lawyers' Co-operative Edition of the Reports of the Supreme Court of the United States there is a sketch written by someone in New Orleans.[2]

The senate biography here mentioned is evidently that reproduced in the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, which, like all other encyclopedia articles on Chief Justice White, is inaccurate at least in regard to his ancestry. The sketch in the *Digest* is much more satisfactory in this respect, although it, too, contains one or two errors; the curious feature of this report is its complete lack of concern with its subject's paternal ancestry. After remarking that White had been chosen to succeed the deceased Senator Eustis of Louisiana, the writer continued:

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[1] *Cf.* Martin I. J. Griffin, "Personal," *America*, IV (December 31, 1910), 287; Lewis C. Cassidy, *The Catholic Ancestry of Chief Justice White* (Philadelphia, 1927), p. 2.

[2] *Georgetown College Journal*, XXXV (February, 1907), 242.

> Edward Douglass White is of Virginia descent on his mother's side. John Carter emigrated from England in 1649, and settled on the estate of "Corotoman," in Lancaster county, that state. His second wife was Sarah Ludlow, among whose children was Robert Carter, often called "King Carter," on account of his activity and influence in the young colony. He was born in 1663 and died in 1732. He was at one time Rector of William and Mary College, and served as a member of the House of Burgesses, "under the Most Serene" William, Anne, George I and George II, besides occupying the position of Governor of the province. He married Betty Landon, and among their children was Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, who married Eliza Wormly. Their son, Robert W. Carter, married Winifred Beale, and a daughter of this marriage, Fanny Carter, became the wife of J. L. Lee. Their daughter, Mary Lee, became the wife of Tench Ringgold, who was for many years Marshal of the District of Columbia, and among the issue of this last marriage was Sidney Lee Ringgold, the mother of Judge White.[3]

It is from these details that it is possible to trace the lineage of the Whites back to very early colonial origins, and to observe relationships with many notable figures from colonial times to a period contemporary with the chief justice himself.

The colonial emphasis is not quite so pronounced in the case of the White family as in that of the chief justice's mother's family. James White, the first American ancestor of the jurist, was an Irish immigrant, born in 1704, who arrived in America in his youth, and who married Ann Willcox of Chester County, Pennsylvania in 1747.[4] According to the chief justice himself, this James White was an only child, and his parents' names were never preserved by his descendants. His wife was the daughter of Thomas Willcox, a convert to the Catholic faith, and Elizabeth Cole; their home was the site of one of the earliest Jesuit missions in Pennsylvania.

The Whites were the parents of eight children, one of whom, Anna, was the first person to be buried in St. Mary's Churchyard in Philadelphia.[5]

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[3] *Complete Indexed Digest of the United States Supreme Court Reports* (Rochester, New York, 1894), 4th ed., I, cvi.

[4] *Cf.* Richard J. Purcell, "Catholic Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. II. Edward Douglas White," *Catholic Educational Review,* XL (June, 1942), 321-324; there are references to the activities of James White in the articles of Griffin and Cassidy, mentioned in note 1.

[5] Joseph Willcox, "Some Reminiscences Connected with St. Mary's Churchyard, Philadelphia, Pa.," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* VI (1895), 460-461; Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., "Interments in St. Mary's Burying Ground, Philadelphia, from 1788 to 1800," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* V (1894), 25. Cassidy, *op. cit.,* p. 1, notes that

Of the others, only the eldest, James, born in 1749, long survived his parents. The first James White became a merchant of some consequence, and was one of the group which signed the non-importation agreement of 1765. Of greater importance locally was his bequest of thirty pounds to the managers of the Roman Catholic Burying Ground for a schoolhouse; this was the first such legacy made in aid of Catholic education in Pennsylvania.[6] At the time the will including this bequest was made, in 1767, only the eldest son seems to have been living. He continued to reside in Philadelphia, or at least to own property there, until 1790, as is evident from his letters to Governor Richard Caswell of North Carolina.[7]

The second James White was a person whose career affords almost boundless opportunity for speculation. Without a thorough investigation of the Spanish national archives, and a comparison of their contents with the letters written by White as a member of the Continental Congress, it seems probable that determination of the role he played in the early history of the United States cannot be achieved. Some few events are known with certainty, however. White was the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern department, being assigned to that office in 1786 and retaining it for somewhat less than two years.[8] He was, before and after this appointment, a delegate to the Continental Congress from North Carolina, and his activities within and without that body have excited some interest. It was at this time that the so-called Spanish conspiracy was being fomented; White is supposed to have played a leading, though mysteriously shadowy, part in the attempts made by the Spanish emissary, Diego Gardoqui, to encourage the secession of the western settlements from the newly-forming United States. He is supposed to have assumed the name Jacques Dubois,[9] and to have left New York on

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James White and Ann Willcox had been married on June 3, 1727, in the Swedish Church of the Holy Trinity, since there was then no Catholic church available for the ceremony.

[6] James A. Burns, C.S.C., *The Catholic School System in the United States* (New York, 1908), p. 123, n. 2; L. P. Flick (Ed.), "Minute Book of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* IV (1893), 255.

[7] Willcox, *loc. cit.*, p. 463; Cassidy, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Griffin, *loc. cit.*, p. 287. White's frequent references to obtaining "means of subsistence" in Philadelphia are contained in letters reproduced and edited by Edmund C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1936), VIII, 385, 433, 463 n., 483, 522, 603.

[8] Burnett, *op. cit.*, VIII, xciv.

[9] A. P. Whitaker, "The Muscle Shoals Speculation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XIII (December, 1926), 365-386. Perhaps this assumption of a French name accounts for D. J. Le Blanc's assertion, in *True Story of the*

other historians of that state in such detail as to make repetition unneces-
October 11, 1788, arriving in Havana about December 20 of that year in order to receive instructions as to his activities. There is an absolute discrepancy of time here, however, with White's own letter from Philadelphia to Governor Caswell, dated November 13, 1788, at a time when he should have been en route to Havana.[10] The materials in the Spanish archives had been searched, at least partially, before the publication of the letters of members of the Continental Congress, but the divergence in details suggests interesting possibilities for further search. One circumstance which has often been noted by writers in the early history of Tennessee and other western settlements is the great possibility for confusion of identities where there is a similarity of names, and there were at least two James Whites in Tennessee at the time of the Spanish conspiracy.

The later portions of the career of the second James White, if less colorful, were a valuable recapitulation of the adaptability required of the frontier settler. Educated as both a lawyer and a physician, according to contemporary accounts, it was the former avocation which received most of his attention. Having removed his own household to North Carolina, or later Tennessee, he migrated again, this time to Louisiana, where he became a judge in the Attakapas district. White married twice. The name of his first wife has never been discovered, but the couple had one child who was named Edward Douglas, which may indicate that his mother was a member of the family, or perhaps a neighbor, of the Revolutionary War hero and Sumner County political figure of that name. Edward Douglas White is said to have had a half-brother, James, the issue of his father's second marriage to Lavinia Murphy, but the boy apparently died in infancy, and there is no record of his having received any portion of his father's estate.[11]

The estate of James White provided sufficient funds for his son to acquire a legal education at the University of Tennessee in Nashville, and in the office of Alexander Porter of Donaldsonville. His successive emergence into political prominence as city judge, member of Congress, and governor of the State of Louisiana has been told by Gayarré and

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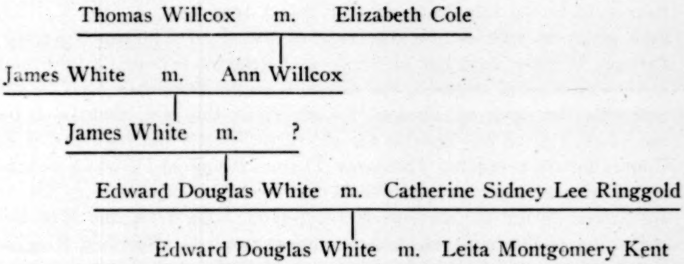
Acadians (n.p., 1932), p. 100, that Chief Justice White once informed Judge A. T. Le Blanc, of New Brunswick, Canada, that "his ancestors originally bore the name of 'Le Blanc,' and that the name was changed to 'White' during his forebears' residence in an English community." Certainly there is no other basis for assuming that the Whites were of French origin, although it is as likely that White would translate his own name into French as that he would adopt another.

[10] Burnett, *op. cit.*, VIII, xlix-1.

[11] *Cf.* Diedrich Ramke, "Edward Douglas White," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1940; Purcell, *loc. cit.*, p. 323.

sary. The characteristics evident in the White family thus far were also true of him, as they were true of his youngest son and namesake. The legal career combined with political office and interest in public affairs, preoccupation with matters of educational and religious importance, even the late marriages so consistently entered into in the first three generations of the family were followed by the most famous member of the family, Edward Douglas White II.

The first Edward Douglas White married Catherine Sidney Lee Ringgold while serving his first term in Congress. She was the daughter of Tench Ringgold, onetime marshal of the District of Columbia, and Mary Aylett Lee.[12] The marriage of the first Edward Douglas White to Miss Ringgold added strains of Virginia and Maryland colonial ancestry to the Pennsylvania and Tennessee strains already possessed. Before considering these in detail, however, the genealogical information already given may be recapitulated.


Thomas Willcox m. Elizabeth Cole
James White m. Ann Willcox
James White m. ?
Edward Douglas White m. Catherine Sidney Lee Ringgold
Edward Douglas White m. Leita Montgomery Kent

From the list of White ancestors given in the paragraph quoted earlier, it is possible to trace the White ancestry back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Although it is not revealed in this sketch, Tench Ringgold was twice married. Both wives were named Mary Lee, the first being Mary Christian (or Christiana) Lee, and the second Mary Aylett Lee. They were distant cousins, and the relationship here involved added a further complication to the already tangled skein of the Lee connections.

Tench Ringgold himself was the descendant of a pioneer family of Kent County, Maryland. Born in 1776, he was the youngest son of Thomas Ringgold and Mary Galloway. His father was directly descended from the pioneer of the same name, who settled in Kent County in 1650. Cadwalader Ringgold, made commodore and rear admiral in reward for his services in the Civil War, was a distant cousin.[13] Mary Galloway was likewise descended from old Maryland stock, her parents being Samuel Galloway and Anne Chew. These few family names indicate to some degree the complexity of the maternal ancestry of the chief justice and, in order to clarify the strains as much as possible, each family will be traced from its earliest known American representative to its proper connection with the chief justice.

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[12] Personnel File, Department of Justice Archives, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[13] Allan Westcott, "Caldwalader Ringgold," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XVI, 617-618.

The Ringgold family was established in Maryland about 1650 by Thomas Ringgold, who came to America from England when he was about forty years old, bringing with him two sons, John and James. The latter acquired the title of major, and before his death, in 1686, married twice. A son, Thomas, was the issue of the first marriage, and this son married three times, with another Thomas, the third of the name, being the issue of his first marriage to Sarah Ringgold, evidently a cousin, and a descendant of John.[14]

Thus far the record of the Ringgolds consists almost entirely of undated references to the successive generations. A specific date, May 1, 1712, is then given as that of the marriage of the third Thomas Ringgold to Rebecca Wilmer, daughter of Simon and Rebecca Wilmer. To this couple were born several children, the eldest, born on December 5, 1715, again receiving the name of Thomas.[15] Concerning this son, there is a fuller record than there had been in the old record books and registers of Kent County for the preceding Thomases. Thomas Ringgold IV was a merchant, and a man of some prominence in the community. Service in the state legislature during the sessions of 1762, 1763, 1765, 1766, and 1768 is one indication of this position. A more cogent proof is offered in Ringgold's membership in the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, where he was associated with Edward Tilghman. There is, in the meager details which have been preserved of the lives of both the colonial great-grandfathers of the chief justice, James White and Thomas Ringgold, a similarity in occupation and interests which illustrates their position in regard to political matters. Both were merchants and might, therefore, have been expected to adhere to the English view of the proper relationship between mother-country and colony. Yet both, while interested in political affairs and actively concerned in them, were sympathetic from the outset with the colonial viewpoint.

Ringgold married Anna Maria Earle, daughter of James and Mary Tilghman Earle, and left one son, the fifth Thomas Ringgold.[16] It was probably through the Tilghman connection that the youngest child of this Thomas was named Tench, since Tench is a common praenomen among the Tilghmans. This family, as well as that of the Earles, had a long and honorable history in Maryland.

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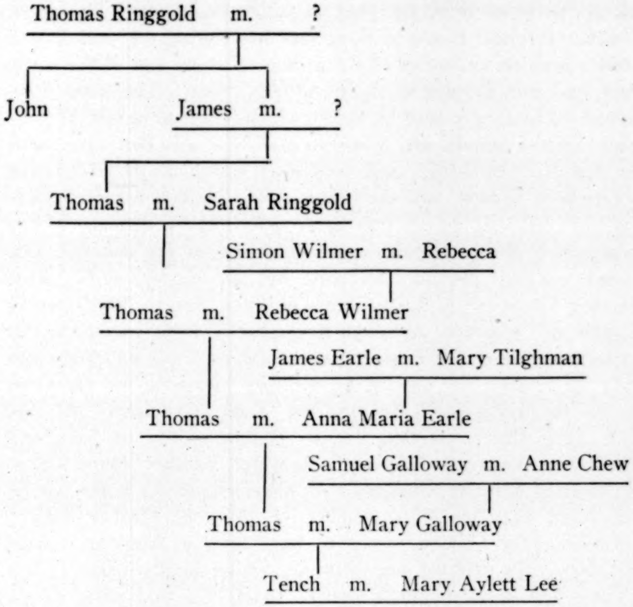
[14] G. A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), pp. 60-61.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Following his father's interests, Thomas Ringgold V, who is identified as "of Chestertown," was a member of the Maryland Convention which met at Annapolis on May 8, 1776, for the purpose of framing a new state constitution. Shortly after he had turned his attention to this project, Thomas Ringgold died, on October 26, 1776, leaving five children: Thomas, Samuel, Anna Maria, Benjamin, and Tench. These children were the issue of his marriage with Mary Galloway, daughter of Samuel Galloway and Anna Chew.[17] As has already been noted, it was the youngest child, Tench, who married Mary Aylett Lee, and whose daughter became the mother of the future chief justice of the United States. The Ringgold genealogy, then, inasmuch as it concerned Edward Douglas White, may be here summarized.


Thomas Ringgold m. ?
John
James m. ?
Thomas m. Sarah Ringgold
Simon Wilmer m. Rebecca
Thomas m. Rebecca Wilmer
James Earle m. Mary Tilghman
Thomas m. Anna Maria Earle
Samuel Galloway m. Anne Chew
Thomas m. Mary Galloway
Tench m. Mary Aylett Lee

Thus far it does not appear that any Catholic strain formed part of Edward Douglas White's background except that which he received from the Whites and the Willcoxes. The Ringgolds are not mentioned as having been Catholics, and from the circumstance of their arrival after the repudiation of the Toleration Act by some of the settlers from Virginia it may be inferred that they were then Anglicans, as their later descendants were. The family last mentioned as having intermarried with the Ringgolds, that of the Galloways, was a Quaker group, and Mary Galloway was a cousin of the Joseph Galloway who was famous in Pennsylvania history even before he brought both praise and censure upon himself by proposing a plan to unite the colonies with England in a fashion somewhat resembling that of the union of the dominions with the mother-country under the present system.[18]

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[17] *Ibid.;* Lawrence B. Thomas, *The Thomas Book* (New York, 1896), p. 480.

The Galloway family was closely connected with other Quaker families, notably that of the Chews, by a series of intermarriages. The earliest American Chew was Samuel, who arrived in Maryland in 1648, or perhaps even earlier, and who resided for a time in Virginia. His wife, Anne Ayres, was also a Quaker. Samuel occupied important positions in the colony of Maryland. As early as 1659, the year in which he married, he was a member of the Maryland House of Burgesses, and during the next decade he achieved a position as justice of the provincial court and of the court of chancery, and as a member of the governor's council. The latter position he continued to occupy until his death, which occurred in 1695.[19]

The fifth child of Samuel and Anne Ayres Chew was Benjamin, who was born April 12, 1670-1671, and who died March 3, 1699-1700. He married Elizabeth Benson, and their first child, Samuel, became a distinguished physician and jurist, thus again affording an instance of the measure in which the professions were combined in the colonies. Dr. Samuel Chew not only practiced medicine, but also became chief justice of the "Lower Counties" of Kent, Newcastle, and Sussex, later formed into the State of Delaware. Although a Quaker like his ancestors, Dr. Samuel was evidently of a militant temperament, and was expelled from the Society of Friends for advocating military measures for defensive purposes in the colonies.[20] He married Mary Galloway, and his fifth child, Anne Chew, married Samuel Galloway, son of John and Mary Thomas Galloway. It was their daughter, another Mary Galloway, who married Thomas Ringgold V.[21] Reverting to the latter family, it is discovered that the first member of this old Quaker family, Richard Galloway of London, seems to have been in Maryland about December, 1662. He married one Hannah, whose family name is unknown. Their first child, Samuel, married twice: his first wife, Sarah, whose family name is also unrecorded, seems to have died childless;

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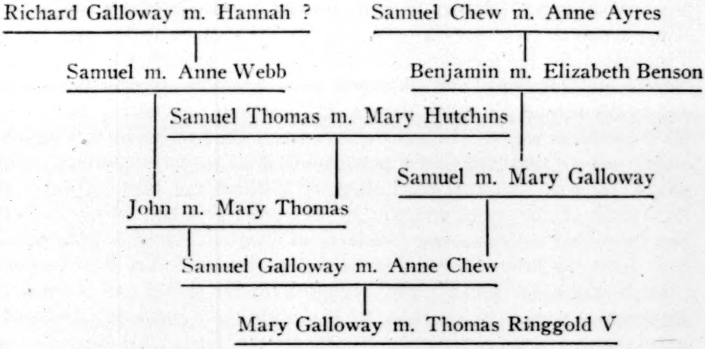
[18] B. A. Konkle, *Benjamin Chew* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 6.

[19] Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

[20] W. W. Spooner, *Historic Families of America* (New York, n.d.), p. 188.

[21] Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 270-271.

his second wife was Anne Webb, and their fourth child, John, married Mary Thomas, daughter of Samuel Thomas and Mary Hutchins. Their first child, in turn, was Samuel, who married the Anne Chew whose ancestry has just been traced, and whose daughter, Mary Galloway, married Thomas Ringgold V.[22] The Galloway and Chew family trees, in their relation to the White family, may conveniently be recapitulated together.


Richard Galloway m. Hannah ?
Samuel Chew m. Anne Ayres
Samuel m. Anne Webb
Benjamin m. Elizabeth Benson
Samuel Thomas m. Mary Hutchins
Samuel m. Mary Galloway
John m. Mary Thomas
Samuel Galloway m. Anne Chew
Mary Galloway m. Thomas Ringgold V

Two families remain to be considered in this sketch of Edward Douglas White's family background. Both of them were of greater renown and wider accomplishment in the colonial period than were the Ringgolds, Chews, Galloways, Whites, and Willcoxes already seen. One family, the Carters, was Anglican; the other, the Lees, was both Catholic and Anglican, with the Maryland branch of the family into which White's grandfather first married claiming a traditional allegiance to the Catholic faith.[23]

John Carter was an Englishman whose connection with the noble family of that name has been a vexed question for genealogical students of several generations. He established himself in Virginia some time before his death, which occurred in 1669, according to his tombstone. This monument also bears a most confusing record of his wives and their parents, which led to some speculation as to the number of times that he married. The eventual resolution of this difficulty gave the number of wives as five, with the fourth, Sarah Ludlow, being the mother of Robert Carter of Corotoman, from whom the remainder of the Carter family can trace their ancestry.[24] With the mention of the name of Corotoman, the estate whence the American Carters originated, one sees the beginning of the profusion of

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 317.

[23] E. C. Mead (Ed.), *Genealogical History of the Lee Family* (New York, 1868), p. 113.

[24] L. A. Glenn (Ed.), *Some Colonial Mansions* (Philadelphia, 1898), p. 221.

Carter estates and estates owned by those who married into the family, a list which indicates the truly amazing wealth in land and property of other kinds which was owned by this colonial family.

Robert Carter, born in 1663, married twice before his death, which took place in 1732. His first wife was Judith Armistead of Hesse, and his second marriage was to Mrs. Elizabeth Willis, daughter of Thomas, and granddaughter of Sylvanus, Landon, both men of importance in early Virginia history.[25] Robert himself, usually known by the sobriquet of King, seems to have been a personage second to none in his own times. The reason for his nickname may have been his appearance, which was "lordly and imposing," or, as seems more probable, it may have been due to his manner of living, which was certainly pretentious, as befitted his tremendous wealth. He was the founder of Christ Church in Virginia, which long retained the Carter pew, and he held various important public offices. He was Rector of the College of William and Mary, Speaker of the House of Burgesses and also its treasurer, president of the council, and for a time he was acting Governor of Virginia. There is little doubt, even from the brief records that have been retained, that this Virginia colonial was a gentleman highly regarded for his ability and position in England, as well as in Virginia. At his death, the *Gentleman's Magazine* noted that his estate consisted of 300,000 acres of land, 1,000 Negroes, and £10,000. Not only Carters and Whites, but literary figures such as Thomas Nelson Page and Letitia Elizabeth Landon (L.E.L.) traced their descent from this King Carter.[26]

One of Robert Carter's sons was Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, a name perhaps attributed to his estate in allusion to its likeness to the Horatian retreat. The vast estate of King Carter had been divided into several smaller ones, including not only the diminished Corotoman and Sabine Hall, but Shirley, Cleve, and others. Landon Carter married three times,[27] and from his marriage with Elizabeth Wormeley of Rosegill had a son, Robert Wormeley Carter, who again played a prominent part in Virginia politics of the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary periods. In 1775 and 1776 he was a member of the House of Burgesses, while in the former year and again in 1787 he occupied a place in the House of Delegates. In 1766 he had signed the celebrated Westmoreland Resolutions, and in 1787 he participated in the convention which sought to determine the action Virginia would take in the proposed revision of the Articles of Confederation.[28]

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 225

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 225-229.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 279, 293.

Robert Wormeley Carter married Winifred Beale, and was the father of five children: George, Landon, Fanny, Nancy, and Elizabeth.[29] The eldest daughter, Fanny, married Thomas Ludwell Lee, and it was their daughter, Mary Aylett Lee, who became the second wife of Tench Ringgold and the mother of Catherine Sidney Lee Ringgold. So far as the White connections are concerned, the Carter genealogy appears as follows:

John Carter m. Sarah Ludlow
Robert m. Elizabeth Landon Willis
Landon m. Elizabeth Wormeley
Robert Wormeley m. Winifred Beale
Fanny Carter m. Thomas Ludwell Lee
Mary Aylett Lee m. Tench Ringgold

To Thomas Ludwell Lee and Fanny Carter were born eight children, the third being Mary Aylett Lee. The two youngest Lee children were Catherine and Sidney, both of whom died in infancy.[30] It was undoubtedly in memory of her two little sisters that Mary Aylett Lee Ringgold named her daughter Catherine Sidney, adding, as seems to have been the custom of both the Lee and Carter families, her own family name.

Complex as have been some of the relationships and intermarriages so far indicated, particularly in the case of the Galloways and the Chews, it is in connection with the Lees that greater complexity appears. There has probably been no other American family of colonial origin which has been the subject of so much genealogical interest as has been displayed in regard to the Lees. Their origin in England is almost as difficult to trace accurately as is that of the Carters, with the added hazard of confusion of spelling of the family name. It is agreed, however, that the first Lee to come to America was Richard, whose wife, Ann, is otherwise unidentified. Their second child, Richard, married Laetitia Corbin, and from this union came the two branches of the Lee family with which the Whites were later connected.[31]

The third child of Richard and Laetitia Corbin Lee was Philip, who migrated from Virginia to Maryland. It was this branch of the family which is said to have maintained its Catholicity, a circumstance which suggests that the original Virginia Lees were Catholics too. Philip Lee married Sarah Brooke, daughter of Thomas and Barbara Addison Brooke, and their fourth son was Thomas Lee.[32] This Thomas Lee married Christiana Sim, daughter of Dr. Patrick Sim and Mary Brooke, and their first child was a son, Thomas Sim Lee.[33] Here the Lee family of Maryland became as prominent in public affairs as it was in Virginia, for Thomas Sim Lee was seven times Governor of Maryland, and an outstanding figure in the guidance of its internal affairs during the period just preceding the Revolution. Lee was a supporter of the colonial cause, and numbered Washington, Lafayette, and other Revlutionary War figures among his friends.[34] His wife, Mary Digges, the daughter of Ignatius Digges and Elizabeth Parham, is credited with heroic support of the colonial cause during the agitated days of the Revolution.[35] Their daughter, Mary Christian (or Christiana) Lee, became the first wife of Tench Ringgold on April 10, 1799, and was the mother of five children: Mary Digges, Benjamin, Eliza, Sarah Brooke, and Anna Maria. The Lee family connection with Tench Ringgold through his first marriage may be thus indicated:

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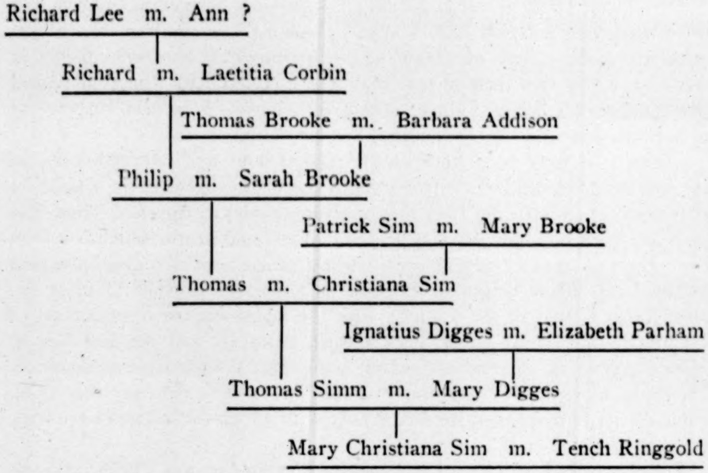
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

[30] F. W. Alexander, compiler, *Stratford Hall and the Lees* (Oak Grove, Virginia, 1912), p. 139.

[31] Spooner, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-346.


Richard Lee m. Ann ?
Richard m. Laetitia Corbin
Thomas Brooke m. Barbara Addison
Philip m. Sarah Brooke
Patrick Sim m. Mary Brooke
Thomas m. Christiana Sim
Ignatius Digges m. Elizabeth Parham
Thomas Simm m. Mary Digges
Mary Christiana Sim m. Tench Ringgold

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[32] *Ibid.*, p. 341.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 345.

[34] T. J. C. Williams, *History of Frederick County, Maryland* (n.p., 1910), II, 1444.

[35] E. J. Lee (Ed.), *Lee of Virginia* (Philalelphia, 1895), p. 310.

Before leaving this branch of the Lee family, however, it is not without interest to note the connections formed by this branch of the family with many other figures of historical importance. Thomas, the second child of Thomas Sim Lee and Mary Digges, and therefore the brother of Mary Christiana Lee Ringgold, married Eleanor Cromwell, and their daughter, Mary Digges Lee, married Charles Carroll, the son of Charles and Harriet Chew Carroll. This formed one connection between the Lees and two other of the oldest Maryland families, one Catholic, the other Quaker. Another brother of Mary Christiana Lee, William, married Mary Lee Hollyday, and had a son, Thomas Sim Lee, who married Josephine O'Donnell, daughter, of the Revolutionary War hero, Columbus O'Donnell. Still a third noted name was incorporated into this branch of the Lee family by Mary's younger sister Eliza, who married Outerbridge Horsey, of Delaware, a member of the early congresses of the United States.[36]

As though these relationships were not sufficiently tangled, Colonel John Lee of Needwood, eighth child of Thomas Sim and Mary Digges Lee, married Harriet Carroll, sister of the Charles Carroll to whom his niece was married, and had, among other children, Thomas Sim Lee, who became rector of St. Matthew's Church, Washington, D.C., and was elevated to the rank of domestic prelate. An older brother of Monsignor Lee, Dr. Charles Carroll Lee, married Helen Parish and was the father of Dr. Thomas Sim Lee, one of the physicians who attended Chief Justice White in his last illness.[37] It is of interest to observe that the residence of the chief justice, from the time of his arrival in Washington as Senator from Louisiana in 1891 until his death in 1921, was at 1717 Rhode Island Avenue, within a few doors from St. Matthew's Church. This church, now the cathedral for the Archdiocese of Washington, contains as one of its principal decorations a large mural depicting "Saintly and Eminent Personages of the Americas," in which the chief justice occupies a position third from the left. The marble balustrade of the choir loft was the gift of his widow, in memory of the chief justice who had occupied a pew in the church from his early days in Washington, and who was buried with impressive funeral services begun at St. Matthew's[38] and concluded at Arlington.

Returning to the Lees, there remains the family of Mary Aylett Lee, second wife of Tench Ringgold, and grandmother of the chief justice, to be traced. The younger brother of the Philip Lee who left Virginia for Maryland in 1700 was Thomas, son of Richard and Laetitia Corbin Lee. Thomas married Hannah Ludwell, and their sixth child, Thomas Ludwell

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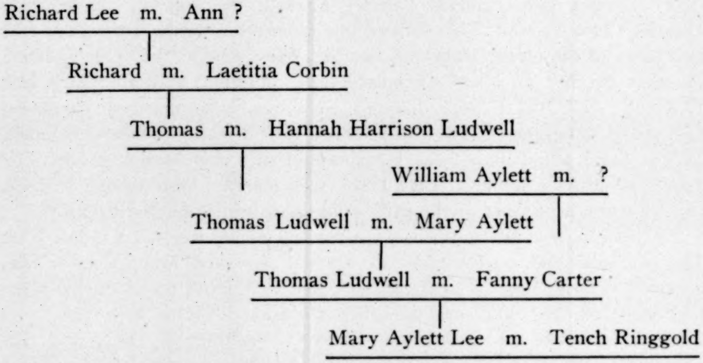
[36] Spooner, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-355.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 355, 85-89.

[38] Helene Philibert, *Saint Matthew's of Washington* (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 71-72, 81, 102-103, 128-129, 137.

Lee, married Mary Aylett, daughter of William Aylett. Their first child was a son, the second Thomas Ludwell Lee, who married the Fanny Carter who has already been mentioned in the Carter connection. It was their daughter, Mary Aylett Lee, who became the second wife of Tench Ringgold.[39] A summary of this Lee descent appears as follows:


Richard Lee m. Ann ?
Richard m. Laetitia Corbin
Thomas m. Hannah Harrison Ludwell
William Aylett m. ?
Thomas Ludwell m. Mary Aylett
Thomas Ludwell m. Fanny Carter
Mary Aylett Lee m. Tench Ringgold

This concludes the summary of the White ancestry, which has comprised a tracing of the main lines of descent, particularly in the family of the chief justice's mother, since this method of approach has been heretofore entirely neglected. Before leaving the Lee connection, however, it should be observed that descendants of the other children of Richard Lee and Laetitia Corbin, who have not been mentioned here as not being direct ancestors of the chief justice, were of great importance in early colonial and national history, and have continued to exercise much influence in national affairs to the present. The family which has been called one of the most famous of Revolutionary War days, for instance, was the Lee coterie of brothers, including Richard Henry, Fitzhugh, and Arthur. Descendants of these men included Robert E. Lee and his sons, as well as the Lees who remained loyal to the Union cause. When Edward Douglas White left Georgetown College in 1861, then, to return to offer his services to the Louisiana cause, he was actually enlisting under the banner of forces commanded by a distant cousin of his. So tangled was the skein of relationship by this time that it may be doubted that White was aware of this. In any case the relationship was very far from being a close one, but the interest displayed by the unknown person in New Orleans who wrote the sketch in the *Lawyer's Digest* indicates that the Whites had preserved some knowledge of their family background.

The emphasis which has been previously placed upon the family of

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[39] B. J. Hendrick, *Lees of Virginia* (Boston, 1935), genealogical table.

Edward Douglas White has performed a real service in preserving some record of a family which might otherwise have been lost. These additional notes on the family background of the chief justice show that he had a more varied heritage than might otherwise be imagined. Anglican and Quaker religious beliefs were mingled with only a slight strain of Catholicity in his mother's background, but the contribution to political and legal tendencies is far more marked than is the divergence from the religion professed by White. With governors and legislators, as well as jurists, in both lines of descent, it is, perhaps, more explicable that White possessed legislative and juridical talents of a high order. In any case, the contribution to his ancestry made by the galaxy of Ringgolds, Chews, Galloways, Diggs, Carters, and Lees must be balanced against that of the Willcoxes and Whites before a true estimate of the role played by heredity in White's character can be attempted.

The Catholic University of America

A New Introduction to Historical Method

By Martin R. P. McGuire*

A guide to historical method embracing all the subject matter normally contained in such works, but at the same time dealing with certain fundamental points—divine revelation and miracles—from the Catholic point of view, has long been a desideratum in the English-speaking world. When A. Feder, S.J., published his *Lehrbuch der geschichtlichen Methode* (first edition, Regensburg, 1919; third edition, 1924), a translation of this book was frequently discussed as a project in Catholic historical groups in this country, and it was finally announced that Father Francis Betten, S.J., was preparing a translation of Feder. On Father Betten's death, the project passed into the hands of the late Gilbert Garraghan, S.J. A specialist in the field of American church history, Father Garraghan felt that what was needed was not so much a close translation of Feder as rather a new book based in part on Feder and in part an independent work. Hence the present *Guide,* with the exception of Part III, "Criticism," is declared to be largely independent of Feder, and, "even in this third part, and throughout the whole book, whenever possible, his [Garraghan's] illustrative material is taken from American and English History." The editor, Father Delanglez, states that he "has endeavored to make no change affecting the substance of the book, although there are points of detail, such as the requirement for establishing individual facts, which might be more strongly emphasized." His own views on this or that point would seem to be confined to occasional footnotes. Further editorial help was given by William J. Schlaerth, S.J., of Fordham University, who suggested a rearrangement of certain sections, and by Robert E. Holland, S. J., director of the Fordham University Press, who rewrote paragraphs 395-403 and was responsible for the reprinting of Miss Appel's booklet on *Bibliographical Citation in the Social Sciences.*

Before passing to further consideration of the *Guide,* it will be helpful for the reader to have an outline of its contents. The main text is divided

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A Guide to Historical Method. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., Late Research Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. Edited by Jean Delanglez, S.J., Research Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1946. Pp. xv, 482.) Following page 482: *Bibliographical Citation in the Social Sciences. A Handbook of Style.* By Livia Appel, Managing Editor, University of Wisconsin Press. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1946. Pp. 1-30) $4.50.

into four parts comprising a total of nineteen chapters: Part I: Prolegomena to History (pp. 3-99): 1: The Meaning of History; 2: Method in History; 3: Certainty in History; 4: The Auxiliary Sciences. Part II: Finding the Sources (Heuristic) (pp. 103-140); 5: The Nature and Classification of Historical Sources; 6: Mechanical Aids to Research. Part Three: Appraising the Sources (Criticism) (pp. 143-317): 7: Logical Processes in History; 8: The Authenticity of Sources; 9: The Analysis of Sources; 10: The Integrity of Sources: Textual Criticism; 11-13: The Credibility of Sources. Part IV: Presentation of the Results of Research (Synthesis and Exposition) (pp. 321-426): 14: The Interpretation of Sources; 15: External Synthesis; 16: Internal Synthesis; 17: The Indication of Sources; 18: Making the Presentation Effective; 19: History—Written and Rewritten. Following the main text there are: a Bibliography of Historical Method, an Index of Authors (pp. 433-457), an Index of Matter (pp. 458-482), and an appendix: *Bibliographical Citation in the Social Sciences.*

The new *Guide* deserves a warm welcome from all teachers and students of history in our graduate schools. Father Garraghan was wise in breaking away from Feder so much. He has given us a book which, on the whole, is better arranged, more readable, and, of course, more suitable to the needs of American students than the German manual. The selection of illustrative material from American and English history makes the volume especially attractive and practical. The sections on references, footnotes, and style in general, as well as the appendix by Miss Appel on bibliographical citation and related matters, should help to bring about a greater and much needed uniformity and accuracy in the mechanics of historical composition. Catholic teachers and graduate students of history now have a manual of historical method which can serve them satisfactorily on the theoretical as well as on the practical side.

The *Guide* in its present form, however, as is usually the case with first editions of books of this kind, has certain shortcomings which limit its usefulness and reliability not only for students of ancient, mediaeval, and modern European history, but also even for students of American and English history for whom it would seem to have been primarily intended. The reviewer is confident that most of the shortcomings which he has noted can be remedied by a thoroughly revised second edition. He has taken the trouble, therefore, to register his criticisms on the margin of his copy and to present them here in a constructive spirit and with the sincere hope that they will be of immediate use to teachers and to students, and that they will be ultimately incorporated into a second edition of the *Guide*. They should help to make a book, which is very useful even in its present form, into a first class manual. It is not pleasant for the reviewer to furnish detailed criticisms of the *Guide*, especially since its author, for whom he always had the highest admiration as a man and as a scholar, is no longer with us. Yet, precisely because a guide or manual should be as accurate and reliable as possible, such a book should be subjected to rigorous but constructive scrutiny and criticism.

Chapter 1: "The Meaning of History." Page 23, par. 26: The question of periodization should receive a much fuller treatment than it gets here, and bibliography should have been furnished. A reference is given to Monsignor Guilday's *Introduction to Church History,* but, as he expressly states, Monsignor Guilday took his material on this subject from Feder. There is an ample treatment of the subject, accompanied by bibliography, in W. Bauer, *Einführung in das Studium der Geschichte* (2nd ed., Tübingen, 1928), pp. 105-116. In view of the misinformation still widely current in works of reference on the history and use of the term "Middle Ages," it would have been well to indicate that Christopher Keller (Cellarius) did not invent the divisions ancient, mediaeval, and modern, but did much to popularize them by his employment of them in his *Historia Antiqua* (1685). The terms had been used long before his time. Pages 24-25: The terms "civilization" and especially "culture" should be more fully and sharply defined. The mere reference to A. J. Toynbee's twenty-one civilizations means little to the reader unless he is already familiar with Toynbee's concept of a civilization. C. S. Devas, *A Key to the World's Progress,* which is repeatedly cited in the *Guide,* is a book distinguished for sweeping general assertions rather than for its presentation of substantiating evidence, and it represents so definitely the outlook of the last quarter of the nineteenth century (it was published in 1906, the edition of 1924 being merely a reprint) that it might well be omitted as a reference. The definition of civilization given by Devas is in part incomplete and in part obsolete. To exclude the notion of moral and religious development from the concept of civilization is simply absurd. Page 28: Par. 28, c, is as superficial as it is misleading. The tremendous achievement of our modern age in theoretical science is ignored—unless this achievement is confused with our advances in technology implied in the words "merely material achievements." Page 29: 1. "Misconceptions in History." This heading is not satisfactory. The section is concerned with too narrow or erroneous conceptions of what history is and with what it should deal. Feder's title, "Erroneous Conceptions of History," would, therefore, be better. The section deals with such an important subject, that the treatment should be amplified and bibliography furnished.

Chapter 2: "Method in History." Page 61, par. 54, *d:* Livy's work should not be called *Annals,* but *History.* Page 61, par. 55, line 3: "as revised and supplemented by St. Jerome." Strictly, it would have been better to write: "As adapted and supplemented by St. Jerome." It should have been stated here too that the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius was translated by

St. Jerome's contemporary Rufinus and thus also had a great influence in the Middle Ages. The reviewer regrets to say that Chapter 2, in general, seems rather superficial and incomplete. In the last portion of the chapter there is no mention of Hegel and Comte—they are mentioned elsewhere, it is true— and no reference is made to the rise of science, especially the spread of the Darwinian theory in the nineteenth century, and to the tremendous influence of the new scientific outlook on historians and their conceptions of history.

Chapter 4: "The Auxiliary Sciences." Teachers and students of ancient, mediaeval, and modern European history will, in general, be less satisfied with this chapter than with any other section of the *Guide*. The treatment of the auxiliary sciences is, for the most part, vague and incomplete. The majority of these sciences were not of primary concern to an author who was a specialist in American history. Page 81, last paragraph: There is no indication here or later that anthropology should be regarded as an indispensable auxiliary science, not only for the specialist in pre-history or in ancient history, but also for the modern historian interested in the history of the missions in America, Asia, and Africa. Furthermore, "proto-historical" and "pre-historic" are not synonymous terms as they are so taken here. "Proto-historical" is used technically to indicate the period of sparse written records which marks the transition from pre-literary to fully recorded history. Psychology is mentioned as an auxiliary science, but it would deserve a paragraph or two, and bibliography should be furnished, as is done in Feder. Page 82: Philosophy as an auxiliary science is discussed and the significance of logic, epistemology, ethics, and theodicy are pointed out, but no bibliography is given. More orientation in philosophy is needed by our Catholic students—and some teachers—than the author perhaps realized, and specific references to standard handbooks like Coffey, Joyce, Boedder—mentioned incidentally elsewhere—would have been helpful in this section. Page 83:B. Bibliography. The reviewer is more critical of the inadequacy in the treatment of bibliography in this section, and throughout the *Guide* for that matter, than of any other important feature of the book. Bibliographical references throughout are sporadic rather than systematic, and often no references, or general references, are given where specific references would seem to be required. Among the references furnished, too many are concerned with treatments that are semi-popular or sketchy, and few lead the student to the more scholarly and comprehensive treatments of the subjects in question. There would seem to be a definite tendency, furthermore, to refer students to articles or books in English. No concessions to linguistic ignorance should be made in a guide to historical method. References to the most important works should be given, and the language in which such works are written should never be a determining factor in selection. It is absolutely necessary that Catholic graduate students in particular grasp as soon as possible that the majority of indispensable historical works, etc., written by Catholic scholars, to say nothing of numerous similar works written by non-Catholics, are accessible only in other languages than their own, and mastery of French and German as well as even of other modern languages is essential in almost all fields of historical research. The present section on bibliography should contain a much more elaborate list of references, and the scope and value of each general work should be briefly indicated. There is no magic transfer of information to the student through the mere mention of Dutcher, Paetow, Chevalier, Molinier, etc. The reviewer has found by experience that the suggestion, "See Dahlmann-Waitz," or, "See Dutcher," is not very effective. In this section, or somewhere else in the *Guide* at least, the graduate student should receive a formal introduction to the French series "Clio," to the great encyclopedias, especially the great Catholic works of this kind in French and German, to periodical bibliographies such as the *L'Année philologique,* and those contained in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique,* etc. Works like Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles,* should be mentioned also somewhere in the *Guide*. It is not enough for the student to stumble upon them in Paetow. In the present section, the student might have been told, e.g., that new editions of Paetow and Gross are in preparation, that the earlier volumes of Molinier are antiquated and must be supplemented by other works, that Case's *Guide to the History of Christianity* leaves much to be desired from the point of view of Catholic scholarship. Dahlmann-Waitz, moreover, should have been listed in the ninth edition of 1932, not in the eighth edition of 1912. The material in Feder (pp. 106-123) or in Bauer (pp. 362-389), if abbreviated, supplemented to meet the needs of American students, and brought up to date, would, in the reviewer's opinion at least, give the kind of bibliographical guidance expected of a manual of historical method. Page 85: C. Anthropology. For the guidance of the non-specialist in anthropology it should be indicated here that Father Schmidt and his followers are advocates of the *Kulturkreis* theory and that many other anthropologists, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, do not share their views. F. Boas and others, *General Anthropology* (New York, 1938), would render the student of history more valuable service than most of the references given. To be strongly recommended also are the excellent articles on the present state of the question of human evolution and on the origin of religion by Monsignor John M. Cooper in *Primitive Man,* II (1929); VIII (1935). These articles are distinguished alike for their objectivity and for their application of sound method. Page 85-87: D. Linguistics. The pioneer work of Mommsen on the dialects of Italy has been superseded by the studies of Conway, Whatmough, and others. This section might well contain a brief indication of the enormous increase in our linguistic knowledge since the early nineteenth century and of the development of linguistics as an independent discipline. Two or three basic works in the field of linguistics should also be listed. A few lines on the nature and scope of the *Oxford English Dictionary* or of the Berlin *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* would bring home to students of history the indispensable character of such works for the interpretation of sources. Pages 87-89:E: Geography. There is too much emphasis on American geography. Reference should be made to a few general works at least such as H. B. George, *Relations of Geography and History* (5th ed., Oxford, 1924), L. Febvre and L. Battaillon,*A Geographical Introduction to History* [*History of Civilization,* Vol. 10] (New York, 1925), and H. Hassinger, *Geographische Grundlagen der Geschichte* [*Geschichte der führenden Völker,* Vol. 2] (Freiburg im Br., 1931). Pages 84-91 :F : Chronology. No mention is made here of De Geer's method of dating by varves, of dendrochronology, or of systems of chronology before the Middle Ages. The discussion is mainly concerned with the Julian year and the Gregorian reform. The establishment of the Christian era, to say nothing of other eras, is not even referred to! The bibliography contains no references on Oriental or Greco-Roman chronology, and the standard general work of Ginzel is not listed. For proper orientation in this field, see Bauer, *op. cit.,* pp. 189-192. Pages 91-92: G: Diplomatic. By convention, diplomatic does not include documents earlier than the Middle Ages, but ancient as well as mediaeval documents are mentioned twice in this section as falling within its province. Specific reference to works such as Giry, Bresslau, and DeBoüard would be more helpful to the student than the mere general reference to Dutcher's *Guide.* Page 94: Ewald's standard work on seals should be listed among the references given. Pages 94-95: I. Palaeography. For Greek palaeography, reference should have been made to the section in Whibley, *A Companion to Greek Studies,* and especially to the standard work of Gardthausen. Prou should have been cited in the fourth edition of 1924, not in the third edition of 1910, and reference should also have been made to the accompanying *Album de 24 planches.* Papyrology should not be listed as if a branch of palaeography, but should have been presented as an auxiliary science in its own right and given a fuller treatment. The basic references here could be K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig, 1933), and H. Leclercq, art. "Papyrus," *DACL,* 13, 1, cols. 1370-1520. Pages 95-97: J. Archaeology. The bibliography given is inadequate. The reviewer would recommend the article on "Archaeology," in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (14th ed.), N. C. Nelson's chapter, "Prehistoric Archaeology," in Boas, *op. cit.,* pp. 146-237 (excellent), W. F. Albright, "The Present State of Syro-Palestinian Archaeology," in the *Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible* (New Haven, 1938), pp. 1-46, *id., From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 1-47, *id., Archaeology and the Re-*

ligion of Israel (Baltimore, 1942), Jack Finegan, *Light from the Ancient East. The Archaeological Background of Hebrew-Christian Religion* (Princeton, 1946). To students of American church history, the archaeological article of W. Sherwood Fox, "St. Ignace—Canadian Altar of Martyrdom," *Catholic Historical Review,* XXVIII (1942), 43-56, should be of special interest and value. On the combination of archaelogical and documentary evidence in the interpretation of early Roman history, see rather than the work of Pais the chapters by H. S. Jones and H. Last in the *Cambridge Ancient History,* VII (New York, 1928), 312-435. Page 97. K. Epigraphy. Hicks, in spite of its title, is a collection of inscriptions, not a manual of epigraphy. The standard manuals of Greek epigraphy are Roberts-Gardner, and Larfeld. The standard manual for Latin epigraphy is Cagnat. For Christian epigraphy, in spite of certain defects, C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg im Br., 1917), is much more comprehensive and important than Marucchi, and there are articles on Greek and Latin Christian epigraphy which assume the proportions of monographs in Cabrol-Leclercq, *DACL.* None of these references is given in the *Guide.* Sandys' *Latin Epigraphy* was brought out in a second edition by S. G. Campbell in 1927. Page 98: L: Numismatics. To the bibliography might well be added the section on coins by H. Mattingly in the "Appendix on Sources," *Cambridge Ancient History,* XII (New York, 1934), 713-720 (excellent). Statistics should be listed among the auxiliary sciences in this chapter, although the interpretation of statistics should still retain its present place in the *Guide* (pp. 151-153). It might be well in a second edition of the *Guide* also to give formal treatments to sociology and law in their relation to history as auxiliary sciences.

Part II. Finding the Sources: Heuristic. Page 111, par. 95a: The statement, "Next to coins, inscriptions are the oldest form of written historical record," is not entirely correct. In the case of Babylonia and Egypt, inscriptions antedate coins by more than 2000 years, and in the case of Rome, inscriptions are also earlier than coins. Page 120, near the end: It would be better to omit all reference to Ihne and similar antiquated books. Ihne's *Early Rome* (New York, 1908), is merely a reprint, the first edition going back nearly to the middle of the last century. For good interpretations of early Roman sagas or legends and myths, the student should consult the chapters by Jones and Last in the *Cambridge Ancient History* mentioned above. Page 121 ff.: There seems to be unnecessary repetition of materials on pp. 121 ff. and on 269 ff., and the reference to Delehaye in the footnote on p. 269 might well have been given on p. 121. The valuable *Tabelle der verschiedenen Quellenarten* (Feder, *op. cit.,* pp. 103-105) should have been translated and placed after page 124, following Chapter 5. Page 133, *c:* Some reference should have been made here to the Union Catalogue available in the Library of Congress and certain other large libraries. Page 133, *d:* The books listed on p. 389, par. 403, might well be included here. On the other hand, the books of O'Rourke and Kane have little or no value for the graduate student in history. Page 137, *a:* The statement that "The Medieval Academy of America, through its organ, *Speculum,* keeps students informed of dissertations and other projects in progress in its special field, is not true. This information is supplied rather by the *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada. An Annual Bulletin,* edited by S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado. Page 137, *b:* There is no justification for the implied criticism of this type of work, provided that a re-interpretation of old material is really necessary and is actually made. Such a re-interpretation would seem to the reviewer at least to constitute "a contribution to the sum of knowledge" without any qualification.

Part III. Appraising the Sources: Criticism. Pages 147-149: In connection with the discussion of "historical laws," something should be said of Toynbee's formulations, especially since Toynbee recognizes freedom of the human will in history. Page 158, *b:* For a comprehensive treatment of the legal basis for the Roman persecution of the Christians, see H. Leclercq, art. "Droit persécuteur," in the *DACL,* 4, 2, cols. 1566-1648. This long article is an excellent example of the application of sound historical method to a difficult problem. Page 164, par. 153: A more easily accessible and up-to-date reference than John Morris, (ed.), *Historical Papers,* should be given on the False Decretals, and it should be pointed out also that the argument from silence is confirmed by other evidence contained in the documents themselves. Page 165, near the end: The reviewer is not aware of any evidence which would indicate that Gregory the Great was the author of hymns. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur,* V, 301, (Freiburg im Br., 1932), states categorically that not a single hymn may be rightfully claimed for Gregory, and F. J. H. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927), p. 124, after reviewing the question in a long note, also decides in the negative. Pages 176-177: "Among writers of the classical age a simple case of extrinsic testimony to authorship is furnished by the *Anabasis.* Both Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius state explicitly that it was written by Xenophon." The matter is not as simple as that. Diogenes Laertius may have lived as late as the third century A.D., and Plutarch wrote at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century. Both writers, accordingly, were speaking of an author who lived about 500 years before their own time. Hence, the testimony of Diogenes and Plutarch has to be checked and evaluated on the basis of possible sound sources of information available to them. Page 178, b: With reference to the word *forinsecus,* it may be remarked that it occurs as early as Columella and Pliny the Elder. See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae,* s.v. Page 180, 1: The Latinity of the Merovingian charters still bristles with problems. A reference to J. Vielliard, *Le Latin des diplômes royaux et chartes privées de l'époque mérovingienne* (Paris, 1928), might lead a student with a good knowledge of Latin to look into the question further. Page 186, par. 173, a: On the apocryphal gospels, it would have been much better to refer the student, not to the antiquated *Patrology* of Bardenhewer, but rather to his *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, I, 498-622 (2nd ed., Freiburg im Br., 1913), and to E. Amann's article, "Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament," in Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppl.* I, 460-533 (1928), Amann's article is an outstanding example of the sound application of philological and historical method. Page 188, near the end: John Kersey's *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* should hardly be called "an Anglo-Saxon dictionary." Pages 192-193: the statement that the Letter of Aristeas "was held to be genuine by the Church Fathers and scholars generally, down to the sixteenth century," should be further qualified. The most competent biblical scholar among the Fathers, St. Jerome, challenged the whole story of the Septuagint translation presented in the Letter of Aristeas and rejected it. Page 195, near the end: The passage, "It must be emphasized . . . vitiating it," should be recast for the sake of clearness and accuracy. Page 200, c: In connection with Petrie's use of pottery as a means of dating, it should have been stated that Petrie established a system of sequence dating only, and that absolute dating of Palestinian mounds in terms of years B. C. is only possible through a comparison of the pottery types in such mounds with pottery types found in localities where an absolute chronology has been established on the basis of written records, etc. In the quotation from the *CAH* a whole clause has been omitted from the quotation without indication of the omission. Page 203, par. 187: Bardenhewer's *Patrology*, as has already been said, is antiquated, and his great *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* should always be cited and used in its place. Page 208, par. 192, c: This paragraph should be rewritten and the barbarous word *momenta*, which is hardly intelligible here, should be replaced by some suitable English term. Even the original German is clearer in this case, and that seldom happens! Page 213, par. 204, line 12: "and showed the reconstruction to be correct." This is a mistranslation of the German and should read: "and to show the reconstruction to be correct." The sentence beginning, "From the Notitiae . . .", does not convey exactly the meaning of Feder and should be recast as follows: "From the data furnished by the Roman annalists of various periods—the texts of the annalists are in part poorly preserved—Mommsen sought to restore the consular lists *(Consularia Italica)* from which those data were taken." Page 216, a: This paragraph could well be omitted as it has no practical meaning or application for American students. Page 223, f and g: These two sections should be recast and bibliography furnished. Since Du Cange's

Glossarium is mentioned, its scope and character should be more definitely indicated, and the last edition of 1883-1887 should be listed as well as the first edition of 1678. Commentaries in the Middle Ages were not confined, or even largely confined, to "the philosophers, old and recent." Page 228, par. 222: Some reference might have been made here to the editing of mediaeval and Renaissance texts as well as to that of American texts. Page 230, near the end: "Brief directions for the editing of texts were published regularly in the earlier issues of *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies.*" This kind of vague reference is practically useless. On editing of mediaeval texts see rather S. Harrison Thomson, "Editing of Medieval Latin Texts in America," in *Progress of Medieval Latin and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada,* Bulletin No. 16 (April, 1941), 3-15, and *Emploi des signes critiques. Disposition de l'apparat dans les éditions savantes de textes grecs et latins. Conseils et recommendations,* published by the Union Académique Internationale (Paris, 1932). Page 236, a: Some explanation of Lingard's attitude towards St. Joan of Arc should have been attempted, and a reference might have been made to Herbert Thurston's critical analysis of St. Joan's case in the *Catholic Encyclopedia.* Page 237, last paragraph: One should not forget, however, that perfectly normal, but inexperienced persons often give distorted or exaggerated reports on quantities, numbers present at gatherings, distances, etc. Page 240, b: The matter of lying should not be dismissed in such a summary fashion, and a reference should certainly have been given here to a study such as that of L. Godefroy, "Mensonge," Vacant-Mangenot-Amann, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,* X, cols. 555-589 (Paris, 1928). Page 240, c: This paragraph should be rewritten. If ancient and mediaeval writers in part did not accept our canons of history, and especially of biography, but wrote according to accepted conventions common to their age, which permitted invention, etc., they should not be accused of formal untruthfulness or lying. Reference should be made again here to Delehaye and similar works which deal with ancient and mediaeval hagiography in all its aspects. Page 241, b: The statement, "Comparison of Semitic and Indo-European linguistic families demonstrates with certainty the original connection of the two groups of families," is wrong. The linguistic structure of Semitic and Indo-European are basically different and each family developed independently. There is a possibility, however, that Semitic and Hamitic (Egyptian) were originally one language, but Hamitic is a non-Indo-European language also. Page 241, par. 238, line 6: "Criticism was an undeveloped art in the Middle Ages . . ." This statement needs at least the qualification, "in general," or "for the most part." Page 258, last paragraph: Much better texts and translations of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* than the one listed here are available in E. G. Hardy, *The Monumentum Ancyranum* (Oxford, 1923), and F. Shipley, *Velleius Paterculus and Res* *gestae divi Augusti,* Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1924). Hardy's edition has a good commentary. Page 264, 4: On St. Peter in Rome, reference might well have been made to the very important book of H. Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1927). Page 267, 2nd paragraph: Theodoric the Great and Dietrich of Bern are the same person, Dietrich of Bern being merely the name for Theodoric the Great in German legend. Page 279, b: More should be said about the historical value of sermons as sources. Sermons, in general, tend to exaggerate moral abuses, but the preacher often refers incidentally to various aspects of political, social, and economic life as mere matters of common knowledge to his audience. Hence ancient and mediaeval sermons frequently contain much precious and reliable information on political, social, economic, and intellectual life, as well as on the religious life of the preacher's age. See, e.g., Sister Marie Madeleine Getty, *The Life of the North Africans as Revealed in the Sermons of St. Augustine* (Washington, 1930), Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Volume XXVIII. The reliability of incidental information contained in letters also should have been pointed out in the treatment of letters on page 251, paragraphs 249-250. In this connection see, e.g., Sister Mary Emily Keenan, *The Life and Times of St. Augustine as Revealed in his Letters* (Washington, 1935), Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Volume XLV. Page 280, a: This paragraph on race as a factor in veracity should be omitted or completely rewritten. In its present form it is folkloristic rather than scientific in its tone. Many of the early explorers—Spanish, English, French—had a tendency to exaggerate, and Lamothe-Cadillac should not be thought a greater liar than certain others merely because he was a Gascon! Page 280, c: The author was apparently not too happy—and rightly—about Feder's remarks on the inferiority of women as witnesses, and he omitted, therefore, the most damning mark of inferiority in Feder's list, "die geringere Verstandesschärfe," from his translation. Page 281, line 1: "their critical faculty is lacking." The meaning of the German would seem to be rather "their critical faculty is not adequately developed." Page 300, b: It should be made clearer that the reference to Migne, *PL,* 185, is also connected with the reference to the miracles of St. Bernard. Page 308, par. 303: For a much better treatment of the *Legio fulminata* than that in the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* see H. Leclercq's article, "Fulminata (Légion XIIe)," in the *DACL,* 5, 2, cols. 2692-2703. Page 309, near the end: For the confirmation of Old Testament accounts through archaeological excavations, see especially the works of William F. Albright already cited earlier in this article. Page 313, par. 310: In connection with the problem resulting from the apparently conflicting testimony of Caesar and Tacitus on the existence of private property among the Germans, the author should have raised the question whether Caesar or Tacitus were really well informed on such matters, and the evidence furnished by studies of land tenure among primitive peoples should also have been brought to bear here. The passage in Tacitus is quoted on page 324, but no cross reference is given to page 313, and the only new reference added on this much-discussed text is the now antiquated F. Seebohm, *English Village Community*. Fustel de Coulanges, *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire,* is cited twice, but in neither case is any indication given of the date and place of publication (Paris, 1885; 2nd ed., 1894). See now, e.g., the section, "Die sogenannte Urzeit (Cäsar und Tacitus)," in A. Dopsch, *Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung,* I, 53-93 (2nd ed., Vienna, 1923). Page 315, par. 313, a: The statement, "Recent criticism tends to impugn the credibility of Tacitus," should be changed to read: "A few recent critics, but no first class historian among them, tend to impugn the credibility of Tacitus." See, e.g., the verdict given in the "Appendix: the Literary Authorities for Roman History, 44 B. C.-A. D. 70," in the *Cambridge Ancient History,* X, 873 (New York, 1934): ". . . but the trend of present-day scholarship is towards the recognition of his integrity and essential greatness. He is by far the most complete and the most trustworthy author that we possess for the early principate." Page 315, par. 313, b: On the historical value of the Gospels, the reviewer would recommend, in preference to any of the works listed, L. de Grandmaison, S.J., *Jesus Christ, His Person, His Message, His Credentials,* I, 17-237 (New York, 1934).

Part Four. Presentation of the Results of Research (Synthesis and Exposition). Page 322, par. 317, at the end: "without at least a working knowledge of the language or languages in which the pertinent source material is found." So much sloppy work and misinterpretation in history has resulted from imperfect linguistic knowledge that the statement might well be changed to read "without a thorough and exact knowledge of the language or languages. . . ." Page 322, par. 318: This paragraph would certainly have more practical value for the student if it were followed by references to and brief characterizations of works such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae,* Du Cange, Baxter and Johnson,*Medieval Latin Word-List,* the *Oxford English Dictionary,* etc. See Feder, *op. cit.,* pp. 202-205, and especially Bauer, *op. cit.,* pp. 173-175. Students of ancient and mediaeval history should certainly be acquainted also with P. Faider, *Répertoire des index et lexiques d'auteurs latins* (Paris, 1926). Page 343, par. 339: On the date of the birth of Christ see rather the recent article of Francis X. Murphy, "The Date of Christ's Birth: Present State of the Question," *Catholic Historical Review,* XXIX (1943), 307-325. Pages 367-380: This section on the philosophy of history is very disappointing to the reviewer because it is not only somewhat disjointed and confused but is also incomplete. Voltaire is mentioned only incidentally (p. 369), and Comte who, together with Hegel, has exercised such a tremendous influence on historians since the middle of the last century, is not mentioned in the section at all and receives only brief treatment elsewhere (p. 30). Page 370, par. 375: On Historismus, see also the brief but excellent work of Friedrich Engel-Janosi, *The Growth of German Historicism* (Baltimore, 1944). Page 376, par. 384: On Vico, see especially Silvio Vismara, "La storia in S. Agostino e in G. B. Vico," in *S. Agostino, Pubblicazione commemorativa del XV centenario della sua morte* (Milan, 1931), pp. 115-166. Pages 376-377: In view of Hegel's influence, the treatment of him here is too brief, no reference being made, e.g., to his doctrine of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, and its concrete applications. Pages 379-380: The few lines given to Spengler, Sorokin, and especially to Toynbee are not enough. Toynbee's *A Study of History* is gradually being recognized, even by those who are least sympathetic to his work, as the most comprehensive and most profound analysis of the growth and decay of civilizations which has so far been attempted. Page 380: To the bibliography should certainly be added William F. Albright's chapter, "Towards an Organismic Philosophy of History," in his *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 48-87. This chapter contains, among other valuable observations and views, excellent criticisms of Hegel, Toynbee, and Sorokin. Reference should be made also to J. Bernhart, *Sinn der Geschichte* (Freiburg im Br., 1931) *(Geschichte de führenden Völker,* Vol. I),and to A. L. Kroeber, *Configurations of Cultural Growth* (Berkeley, 1944). Page 390: A much greater man than Griffet, and long before him, namely Le Nain de Tillemont (d. 1698), employed marginal references to authorities and investigated original sources with such thoroughness and reported his findings with such accuracy that his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (16 vols., Paris, 1693-1712) are still valuable today. Page 394, par. 409: To this list should be added a number of volumes in the *Records of Civilization* series published by the Columbia University Press. Page 395: J. A. Nairn's *Classical Hand Book* is not a source book, but a select bibliography and price list. Page 419, par 453: "Apart from modern archaeological and papyral [*sic*] discoveries, the available source material for Greek and Roman history has remained virtually the same for centuries. Scholarly works in these fields appearing in recent years, such as Holm's and Rostovtsev's owe much of their value to rearrangement and reinterpretation of the traditional material." These sentences do not emphasize sufficiently the enormous increase of new knowledge furnished by the study of inscriptions, coins, papyri, and archaeological remains, since the middle of the last century. The coupling of the antiquated work of Holm with the new and revolutionary contributions of Rostovtzeff indicates that the writer of the passage quoted had no familiarity with the present state of research in ancient history. Page 427, last line: "on diplomatic": Write: "on diplomatic and palaeography." Page 431: Add for 1925: Peter Guilday, *An Introduction to Church History* (St. Louis, 1925). There is so much good material on historical method in Henry Johnson, *Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools with Applications to Allied Studies* (revised edition, New York, 1940), that it might well be added here.

Misprints in a work of this kind are practically unavoidable, but, as the following list will indicate, very few of those noted affect meaning in any very serious way. Page viii: the Dial Press: for Laitsner, read Laistner. Page x: *Kegan Paul:* the name of the translator, E.A.S. Dowes, should be inserted before the *Alexiad.* Page xiv: Chapter 10: In *C, D, E,* for recenscion, read recension. Page 61, d, line 3: for Cataline, read Catiline. Page 97, end of first paragraph: for *Cambridge Ancient History* 112-15, read *Cambridge Ancient History* I,: 112-15. Page 173, d, line 3: for Madgeburg, write Magdeburg. Page 186, four lines from the end: for Patralogy, read Patrology. Page 187, second paragraph, line 4: for Le Clercq, read Leclercq. Page 193, line 4: for 13: 772, read 13: 722. Page 213, par. 205, line 1: for Giesbrecht (also in Index of Authors), read Giesebrecht. Page 266, line 8: for Kyffhauser, read Kyffhäuser. Page 325, par. 323, line 8: for sogennante, read sogenannte. Page 395, b, line 3: for Barnwart, read Bannwart; line 11: for Römischer, read Römischen; line 16: for Munster, read Münster. Page 410, par. 434, line 1: for Feuter, read Fueter. Page 416, par. 445, line 3: for 1930, read 1936. Page 423, par. 462, line 8: for Parker, read Barker. Page 431, under 1919, line 2: for Second edition, 1924, read Second edition, 1921.

The *Guide,* in spite of certain shortcomings, which can be remedied in a second edition, is most welcome. Catholic teachers and graduate students of history, as has been stated earlier in this article, now have a comprehensive manual of historical method which can serve them satisfactorily in the theoretical as well as in the practical aspects of their craft.

The Catholic University of America

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Messias. By JOSEF PICKL. Translated by Andrew Green, O.S.B. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1946. Pp. ix, 333. $4.00.)

The work herewith placed before an English-speaking public has enjoyed a very considerable popularity in Europe since its first issuance in 1935 as *Messiaskönig Jesus.* It is essentially an attempt to take the very circumstantial gospel narratives of the Passion of Jesus Christ, and to furnish for them a precise framework of events leading up to that climax, and of personal, social, and political motivation for the lesser personages involved. To this end, as much as possible has been made of the testimony of Josephus regarding the state of Palestine in the first century; and in particular, a revolt or disturbance described by Josephus as occurring in the governorship of Pilate *(Wars,* II, 175-6; *Ant.,* XVIII, iii, 2) is placed categorically on the feast of tabernacles just before the Passion. Of this revolt, Barabbas becomes the captured leader.

The entire work is presented as a historical and factual study, with such proofs adduced for the various reconstructions of events as the documents at our disposal will permit. It is, however, the recommendation of this reviewer that the book be read not as history, but as a historical novel, in which an essential core of fact has been elaborated by the art of an informed and skilful writer with a profound feeling for the depth and dignity of his theme. Those who are neither historians nor serious students of the gospel sources for the life of Christ may be said even to need this book. This is particularly true of a reading public for whom the fictional *The Nazarene,* or such works as *The Robe,* have tended to denature their correct appreciation of the central figure of human history. But apart from the altogether superior qualifications of the author of *The Messias* for dealing in an understanding manner with the essential realities of his theme, it is when recognized as imaginative biography that this book will truly serve the public.

From the point of view of history, and of scriptural exegesis, there are contained here a number of details that cannot be proved, and a number that can be disputed; although, as has been said, there is nothing which detracts from a full appreciation of the central facts, and there are many sidelights on the gospel texts which will be of interest even to specialists. The reviewer will confine himself to indicating some points at which interpretations seem to him forced beyond the evidence: the meaning of "Ye shall all likewise perish," (pp. 88-89); political implications of such parables as that of the Good Samaritan (pp. 63-64) and the Good Shepherd (pp. 70, 89, 95); the deductions from Luke 13:1 (p. 192); the motivation of John 19:7-15 (pp. 205-207); the intentions of the Sanhedrin with regard to the dead body of Christ (pp. 279-280); the manner of the carrying of the Cross (p. 247). From the literary point of view, there is a tendency to supply local color by the rather limited device of calling all noisy demonstrations oriental noises.

The translation seems well done; only rarely does a trace of the German, or a mishandling of a remoter source, break through in technical terms or proper names (pp. 63, 122 n. 30, 278, 292). On page 189 is an anachronism ("Easter"), which is presumably not the author's own.

PATRICK W. SKEHAN

The Catholic University of America

The Russian Religious Mind: Kievan Christianity. By G. P. FEDOTOV. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 438. $6.00.)

The purpose of this volume, the first in a planned series of five, is to describe scientifically "the subjective side" of religion in the framework of Kievan Russia from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. In other words, the author intends to reconstruct, in Russia's past, "the religious man and his attitude toward God, the world and his fellow men." In Russian history, the Kievan period was one of the most brilliant, one which, in the author's words, "was never dimmed in the memory of the Russian nation." Its study is not an easy task since the sources are scarce. But painstakingly confronting material contained in sermons, messages, lives of saints, admonitions, and other documents of religious inspiration, as well as in the *Chronicles* and in *The Tale of Igor's Campaign,* a poem comparable with the *Chanson de Roland,* Professor Fedotov reaches a number of well-supported conclusions. Here are the most important ones.

In the course of the period under study, Christianity became the religion of the upper classes only. The conversion of the lower classes was rather superficial, and they continued adhering to many pagan beliefs of the pre-Christian era. The peculiarities of these beliefs exerted a certain influence on the development of Christianity in the country. Their central core consisted of the veneration of nature, veneration of ancestors, and faith in destiny. In consequence, "naturalism" was a perpetual temptation to Russian Christianity but also a mighty stimulus to seek beauty, especially in divine service and in religious art. The Church, essentially a Greek Church on Russian soil, tried to exterminate pagan survivals; nevertheless, some elements of religious syncretism can be traced such as the interception, by some saints, of the mythological tradition of pagan deities. Professor Fedotov is even inclined to explain in a similar way the particular character of the worship of Our Lady in Russia; there, she is always

"Mother of God" *(Theotòkos)*; this, according to the author, points to the survival of the cult of the goddesses of birth, maybe of Mother Earth.

The climax of religious life, asserts the author, falls into the first and second Christian generations; after the middle of the eleventh century, decline in ethical ideas is conspicuous, although the cultural climax can be dated around the middle of the twelfth century.

To what extent, however, was the young Christian influenced by Byzantium? Here the author convincingly shows that the early translation into Slavonic of the scriptures, liturgical books, and many church fathers, making unnecessary the study of Greek, limited this influence. In her sense of history manifested in the remarkable *Chronicles,* Kievan Russia was nearer to mediaeval Europe than to Byzantium. Then, in contradistinction to Byzantium, Kievan Russia knew the difference between monastic and lay ethics; much stress was laid on its social aspect. The Byzantine idea of "symphonic" relationship between the State and the Church was paid lip service only; the Kievan period was characterized by the predominance of the Church and the rarity of conflicts with the State, or rather with the numerous states which formed the loose Russian confederation. Christianization awakened Russia's national consciousness, but it never received the narrow form of the later period; no Kievan author conceived of Russia as of the center of Christianity. In general, national seclusion and antagonism to the Catholic Church was absent; in Novgorod of the twelfth century, says the author, women used to bring their children to Catholic priests for prayer.

Such are a few among the numerous traits of early Russian Christianity described by Professor Fedotov. In his able presentation Kievan Russia is resurrected, intelligible and appealing. Every one interested in eastern Christianity must read this volume as well as the further ones when they appear.

NICHOLAS S. TIMASHEFF

Fordham University

Die Zusammenarbeit der Renaissancepäpste mit den Türken. By HANS PFEFFERMANN. (Winterthur, Switzerland: Mondial Verlag Ag. 1946. Pp. xi, 256.)

The Co-operation of the Renaissance Popes with the Turks, which would be the English title of this book, is a welcome addition to our historical literature, for it furnishes us with a needed treatment of this phase of papal history.

The author demonstrates a ready acquaintanceship with the best literature and the chief printed sources (all occidental, however) and a sound knowledge of the complicated Italian wars. The style is attractive and the story is graphically told; each chapter is cleverly pointed to create a state of suspense, craving satisfaction in the next chapter. The documentation, of which this reviewer would have desired much more, is rather disproportionately distributed: seventy-seven references for the first half against 203 references for the second half of the study.

The first six of the sixteen chapters—almost one-third of the volume—may be considered as constituting the background for the real theme. The superiority of the Turk and the social power of attraction of the Ottoman Empire are emphasized over the disintegrating factors operative in the Christian West, a decline attended with international and domestic conflict and wholesale oppression of the populations. The only prospect for implementing a crusade lay with the papacy, but even this resort failed because of the universal corruption to which the papacy had succumbed as a result of its over-indulgence in the new culture and because of the many abuses caused and tolerated by the ambitions and greed of the pontiffs. While the author does not exactly retail these regrettable abuses in a hostile manner, it is also evident that he does not write with a sympathetic pen, proof of which is his eagerness to interpret the motives of papal action, almost always in an unfavorable manner. More than once he betrays his emotions by the use of the exclamation point. Twice he speaks of the sale of indulgences (pp. 36, 40). Repeated also is the old calumny that Clement VII refused to grant Henry VIII of England his divorce petition, not on principle, but because of pressure brought to bear by Emperor Charles V, who was the nephew of Henry's queen, Catherine p. 192). Exception might also be taken to other statements.

According to Herr Pfeffermann there is absolutely no reason for terminating the Crusades with the date 1291 (p. 52); he would extend the movement to include the expedition of 1444, which ended in a Christian defeat. Henceforth the traditional idea of a crusade is supplanted by the idea of a war against the Turks. The redemption of the Holy Land recedes into the background, and a victory over the Turks becomes the main determinant (p. 61). The author's exposition is not convincing, for the real hope lay still in the strategy of defeating the Turks in their stronghold and then making the liberation of the holy places one of the terms in the peace treaty. This plan was already attempted in 1219 and again in 1248 and 1270. Hence it is not correct to designate the projected plan of 1508 as something strikingly novel (pp. 59-60).

With the advent of the true reform pontiffs, the popes forsake the "illicit" relations with the Turks and no longer seek to enter into an alliance with them. The fact that these popes are more spiritually minded is not sufficient to explain the change in papal policy, but rather the fact that the papal appeals to the Porte had remained fruitless (pp. 240-241).

A few misprints were noticed: read Gonsalvo de Cordova for Gonsalvo dei (p. 119); Antichrist for Antechrist (pp. 157, 169, 183); Widerstanspflicht for Widerstandpflicht (169); Huizanga for Huizenga (p. 245); and undoubtedly Albdruck should be Alpdruck (p. 175).

In most instances the chronology is very exact, although in a few cases the author gives a date at variance with one or more traditionally accepted dates, e.g.: the first settlement of the Turks in Europe at Tzympe (Gallipoli) is dated not 1353, 1354, or 1356, but 1357 (p. 1); Adrianople being made the capital of the Turkish Empire is not dated 1365 or 1366, but 1361 (p. 1); between 1382 and 1385 as the date of the capture of Tiraditza (Sofia) he chooses the former (p. 1); the peace between the Turks and Venice, terminating their first great war, he puts in 1478 instead of in 1479 (p. 3); Saloniki's capture by the Turks is given as 1436 instead of as 1430 (p. 17), but in this the author is probably more correct; other authorities give the death of Scanderbeg as 1467 instead of as 1468 (p. 59) and the accession of George Podiebrad as King of Bohemia as 1459 instead of 1458 (p. 66). One real error may be noted: Paul III became pope on October 13, 1534, not on May 13 (p. 192). The volume has a bibliography, but not an index.

George J. Undreiner

Pontifical College Josephinum

The Medieval Province of Armagh, 1470-1545. By Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., Lecturer in History, University College, Dublin. (Dundalk: W. Tempest, Dundalgan Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 287. 21/-.)

The period covered by this book is set by three primatial registers upon which it is a commentary. The author begins the story as it is told by these registers without any introduction, and readers who are not familiar with the subject will be discouraged at first by this abrupt presentation of the mass of detailed information which he has collected. The book falls into three parts: 1) the last mediaeval primates of Armagh; 2) the Diocese of Armagh; 3) the primate and his suffragans. There is, therefore, some repetition, since for each part the registers are the principal source. But in spite of these drawbacks a persevering reader will find that the story grows more interesting as it progresses, and he will learn a good deal about life in Ireland at the time. For this is not an account of intrigue and warfare between rival princes, but of the details of diocesan administration, of disputes between contending claimants to some benefice, of reports upon the state of a parish or of a cathedral, and, above all, of the conduct of Irish bishops at the time of the breach between the Pope and Henry VIII. State papers, Irish annals, papal letters, and other sources are often cited as evidence.

The picture is not a cheerful one. It is plain that the Church in Ireland at the close of the fifteenth century was in a bad way, and one is made to feel that the persecution under Elizabeth was its salvation, even though it involved material ruin for a time. In fact, there was ruin in the material order before there had been any persecution. In 1516 "the cathedral of Clonmacnois was without a roof and in ruinous condition; there was only one set of poor vestments." Four resident canons sang the divine offices by day and night, a last survival of the great monastic tradition of the place; but "the non-resident canons, not having sufficient income to provide them with proper food and clothing, wandered about hither and thither, to the grave detriment of the diocese and the neglect of their liturgical duties." The cathedral of Derry was all but roofless in 1489. The bishop had no house in which he could fittingly reside; there was only one chalice, made of tin, and the church was in need of books and vestments. And in the moral order it appears that many of the clergy were unworthy. Father Gwynn presents the facts with admirable fairness. In discussing the submission of various Irish bishops to Henry VIII, no attempt is made to minimize the evidence against them, and one reads with confidence.

Much might be said about matters of incidental interest. The documents cited contain a treasure of place names and personal names and some other interesting Irish words. Some of the most exciting place names do not appear in the index, nor does the personal name *Ogarquinclayder (al. O Gairmblegayd, Ogarquielayd),* which the author says is an erratic spelling of O'Gormley.

We are left with a vivid picture of a moment in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, and no hint of what had gone before. There is apparently no adequate account of the mediaeval Diocese of Armagh (p. 73, n. 1), but some introductory statement about the general settlement of Irish dioceses in the early twelfth century would have been welcome. Father Gwynn has shown how much can be won from the available sources, and how well qualified he is to exploit them.

MYLES DILLON

University of Chicago

Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century. By HELEN C. WHITE, Professor of English in the University of Wisconsin. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1944. Pp. ix, 330. $3.50.)

Miss White has illustrated and enriched the broader story of Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.* She begins with an account of "The Piers Plowman Tradition" which attacked poverty as the failure of justice and charity and yet saw in it "the solution" of the world's wrong. Her account of *Piers Plowman* reveals the austerity and comprehensiveness of mediaeval social teaching, for it envisaged social problems largely in terms of individual moral responsibility and urged the poor of an imperfect world to be worthy of their vocation to poverty. There follows an interesting, though not novel, comparison of the orthodox Langland, the spiritual incendiary and social conservative, to the heretical and revolutionary Wyclif. Miss White traces the pervasive tradition of the Plowman through the sixteenth century and finds a surprising number of literary manifestations of Piers, "that evolving mythical figure that in the fashion of so many symbolic figures, grows with the progress of the story from the humble plowman of his first appearance to the redeeming Christ of the possible Christian society at the end" (p. 26). A valuable contribution is the author's notice of the early use (1550) of Langland's poem in the service of the Protestant Revolt, and of the resulting absorption of social criticism into Protestant apologetics, of the "substitution of a new religious order for a new social order" (p. 81).

"The Utopia and Commonwealth Tradition" is the subject of the second chapter and in it the author begins with *Utopia,* a sad book by a gay spirit. She follows this more secular tradition through the familiar works of Thomas Starkey and John Hales, and through a number of other writers less well known. During the sixteenth century this tradition tended to push its "Christian commitments" into the background and to be more narrowly concerned with practical matters of governmental technique and economic policy.

In the period of the religious revolt some mediaeval principles were used in the service of the state and private gain to destroy other mediaeval values. The mediaeval injunction against idleness had been balanced by the value of contemplation. The sin of covetousness had been arraigned in favor of moderation and self-restraint. At the time of the religious revolt the clergy were accused of covetousness and despoiled by the pioneers of an order which was to transform the acquisitive sin into a virtue. The contemplative life was largely repudiated and appeared as the sin of idleness. The Protestant clergy themselves were later unable to check the revolutionary attacks on church property which they had earlier unleashed, and the humane hopes of a Latimer shriveled before a social attitude, which finally protected the property of the reformed clergy because they preached the duty of submission.

The author has compiled a rich treasury of Tudor English quotations and her comments on them are always illuminating and fresh. She has modestly refrained from writing a general history of Tudor social thought and has limited herself rather closely to her texts, although her labors were probably sufficient for the larger task. Moreover, as Miss White perceived (p. 188) and as Hooker sought to prove, it is exceedingly difficult to draw the line between the Tudor Church and the Tudor State, and, thus, to draw the line between religious social criticism and political thought.

MATTHEW A. FITZSIMONS

University of Notre Dame

V
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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Franciscan Explorations in California. Volume VI. *Spain in the West.* By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY, edited by Lillian Estelle Fisher. (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1946. Pp. 189. $5.00.)

At the time of his death Professor Priestley, like every other scholar of his years and research energy, left behind much unfinished business. He had been more fortunate than many of his brethren, however, in having a devoted pupil to assume the duty of literary and academic executor. The present work is made available, thanks to the editorial effort of Dr. Fisher, the first-born among Professor Priestley's numerous progeny of doctors of philosophy. She has, on her own admission, done little to the text or the organization, allowing the master's work to stand. It is a bit rough and at times sketchy. One feels that Professor Priestley had prepared what he, with his long experience in Spanish and Mexican archives, might have designated as the *borrador,* his rough draft which at convenient date would be expanded and polished. One regrets that he did not have the opportunity to do this, in his familiar interesting style.

Despite this fact, the little volume is a valuable contribution to Californiana. It is hoped that it may inspire another to follow the author's many leads and to tell the story in all its fascinating fullness. The events, and even the details, of the first exciting years of occupation are well known; those of a later and more prosaic period are regularly passed by with a sentence or two to the effect that explorations were carried forward, more missions were founded, and then the Americans began to filter in to disturb the pastoral tranquility of Mexican California. The basic facts and development of these later explorations fill more than half of the space of the present work. Throughout there has been careful study of the contemporary Franciscan and official materials—diaries, memorials, reports, and the rest. Many slightly known source documents are recalled, and many little-recognized explorers are given credit long withheld. The Spaniards knew much more about the whole of California, especially the region of the interior valleys, than the casual student has ever been allowed to guess.

This reviewer is of the opinion that a fuller map, containing many more of the multitude of place names mentioned in the text, would have added greatly to the pleasure of the book. These names are legion and to the reader not as well acquainted with the California countryside as Professor Priestley, perhaps, just a bit confusing and disconcerting. Again he wonders if the title is well chosen? The *frailes,* without doubt, bulk numerous among the explorers, but these last would seem to share on equal terms, if not with slight advantage, the task of uncovering the new province with the sons of St. Francis.

JOHN FRANCIS BANNON

St. Louis University

Daughters of Charity in Milwaukee, 1846-1946. By PETER LEO JOHNSON, Professor of Church History, St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee. (Milwaukee: Daughters of Charity. 1946. Pp. x, 235. $2.50.)

Archbishop Moses E. Kiley introduces this centennial volume with the words: "The aim of the following pages is, with sympathy and interest, to chronicle the tireless, indefatigable, unremitting labor and toil of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in Milwaukee, during the past hundred years; and to pay well-merited tribute to those pioneers whose fidelity and courage in their vocation not only preserved the ideals of the Community, but also transmitted them intact to the present generation."

Although the sisters came to Milwaukee in the founding year of the city to open a school for girls, at the request of Bishop Henni, they handed the work in the school over to other competent teachers in 1905 because conditions demanded that the schools for boys and girls be merged and their rules forbade them to teach classes of boys. Yet it must be emphasized that they were the pioneer teaching sisterhood in Milwaukee. However, they put special emphasis on their particular work in St. Mary's Hospital, founded as St. John's Infirmary, St. Rose's Orphanage, and St. Vincent's Infant Home. To supplement the running account of this development, Father Johnson has included thirty-two pages of photographs, a most valuable drawing giving the location of the early buildings, two graphs concerning the orphanage, an appendix containing a list of the donors pledging money to build St. Mary's Hospital, and another appendix showing the contracts on St. Rose's Orphanage. He has also added an index of seven pages.

This volume is another of the several published in recent years by Dr. Johnson to gather the loose threads in the history of the Church of Wisconsin. As such it deserves the highest commendation. We must wonder at the capability of the author to gather so many facts from the scattered authentic sources amidst his many teaching assignments in the seminary. The professional historian would have appreciated a special bibliography instead of having to go to the notes at the end of the book for the sources. New York should have been included with Cincinnati among the foundations that were not affiliated with the French Daughters of Charity (p. 6). The author has been most assiduous in gathering all the details and persons connected with the institutions of the Daughters of Charity in Milwaukee. The book has thus become a small armory of facts. Encompassed in only 235 pages, the presentation naturally becomes encyclopedic and seems to relegate the sisters to an unimportant background. Yet the facts are presented as they were found. Future historians will be grateful for the many items that are saved from oblivion. The book will be consulted long after others written in a lighter vein have been consigned to the limbo of forgotten and discarded volumes.

THEODORE ROEMER

St. Lawrence College
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GENERAL HISTORY

The Congress of Vienna. A Study in Allied Unity: 1812-1822. By HAROLD NICOLSON. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1946. Pp. 312. $4.00.)

The Congress of Vienna is of perennial interest to diplomatic historians, but the fullness and variety of previous treatments have left little about it that can still exercise the student's imagination. Nor is it likely that any interest in the Congress *per se* would have induced Harold Nicolson to write this account. It is quite obvious that the problems and divisions besetting the great powers of the United Nations brought to his mind the trials and dissensions that plagued the last of the coalitions against Napoleon. In his own words, it is his intent to give "an examination in terms of the past of factors which create dissension between independent states temporarily bound together in coalition."

While warning against the danger of pressing analogies too far, Nicolson underlines the mistakes made by the allied powers between 1812 and 1822, errors that we have seen duplicated in our time. Failure to decide their individual objectives at the time of the formation of their coalition in August, 1813, almost led Austria, supported by France and England, on the one hand, and Russia and Prussia on the other, into a war over Poland at the peace conference in January, 1815. Again differences early in 1814 between the same groups, exclusive of France, of course, and England, almost dissolved the coalition while the enemy still had an army in the field. Like C. K. Webster, upon whose work *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* (London, 1931) he has relied heavily, Nicolson attributes the salvation of the coalition to the English foreign minister. It was Castlereagh who saw in those first months of 1814 that the coalition was losing sight of its goal of victory over Napoleon because of jealousies and misunderstandings over the ambitions of the individual members. It was he who welded the loosely-knit coalition together in a twenty-year pact at Chaumont in March, 1814, and who won their approval at Paris in November, 1815, of his plan for regular conferences to concert on the peace and security of Europe.

Although this work is obviously intended primarily for the general public—at least the lack of footnotes and an occasional display of florid style would seem to indicate such to be the case—it can be used profitably by students who want a good brief summary of the Congress of Vienna. The specialist will not find anything here that Webster and a handful of other authorities in this field have not brought to light, but he may regard some of Nicolson's observations, based on his own experience, as worthy of consideration. Contrary to most estimates, Nicolson argues that the statesmen at Vienna, solicitous though they were of their own interests, were eager above all to assure peace to Europe. Their failure, he adds, was due more to their misunderstanding of the times than to their lack of good will.

In passing, it might be noted that students of German history no longer stress the Krumper system as an important factor in the success of the Prussian army in 1813 as Nicolson does here (p. 24). One is inclined, too, to notice the absence of any reference to Srbik's authoritative two volumes on *Metternich* (Vienna, 1925). Despite that oversight, the author does seem to treat the Austrian statesman more gently than did Webster; while partaking of the latter's low estimate of Metternich's moral character, Nicolson does credit him with political principles worthy of respectful consideration.

JOHN K. ZEENDER

Albertus Magnus College

Essays on Historiography. By JAMES C. MALIN. (Lawrence, Kansas: Printed by the Author, 1541 University Drive. 1946. Pp. v, 188. $2.50.)

Devotion to the ideas which stimulated one's youthful mind is, perhaps, indicative of a certain excellence of character, but is not necessarily the best basis for the advancement of historical thought. In his *Essays on Historiography,* Dr. Malin shows clearly enough the influence of Turner, and even more, the environmental pressure of the Kansas habitat, upon his views. This critic does not go so far as to agree with the Yale graduate who bluntly claims that any time spent in a consideration of the frontier is time wasted. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether any vital controversy can be resuscitated by reconsideration of the, by now, rather hackneyed Turner propositions. In the essay, "The Turner-MacKinder Space Concept of History," forty of the forty-four pages are devoted to an appreciation of Turner, and the author does little more than posit that "the frontier problem and the Turner version of it can be understood only within the world background of the space theory of history, which is a geographical interpretation of history."

The second essay on Shaler's frontier concept and the grassland is of similar vintage, stressing another nineteenth-century theory. But here it seems that Dr. Malin has missed a golden opportunity to capitalize on the current Toynbee vogue. The Shaler view, when placed in juxtaposition with Toynbee's "stimulus of hard countries" postulate, provokes some intriguing speculation. Shaler was preoccupied with the effects of the grasslands upon the speed of the advancing frontier. In 1884 he wrote:

> We are now in the midst of the great revolution that these easily won and very fertile lands are making in the affairs of the world. For the first time in human history, a highly skilled people have suddenly come into possession of a vast and fertile area which stands ready for tillage without the labor that is necessary to prepare forest lands for the plough.

Toynbee has used the conquest of North America as his classic example of the thesis that unusual difficulty determines the ultimate masters of the whole continent. If one accepts the Toynbee thesis, and simultaneously considers the effects of a sudden decrease in difficulty, envisaged by Shaler, as the frontiersman came upon the prairie, one begins to query.

Did the frontier in America, instead of producing that sound American character which is to be a last bulwark in a world of confusion, produce a softening in national character which makes tenable the Toynbee crystal-ball concept described in the second volume of *A Study of History?* He conceives the possibility in the twenty-first century of a replenished French peasantry coming down from Canada, the Mexican peasant moving north from below the border, and "a triumphal meeting between the two resurgent Latin peasantries in the neighborhood of the Federal Capital of the United States!"

Of the four essays included in the book, the last, devoted to "Certainty and History," has the greatest claim to contemporary interest. Professor Malin explains his failure to analyze the recent contribution made in Garraghan's *Guide to Historical Method* on the grounds of delay in manufacture. He describes the Garraghan position as "presenting the theory of certainty grounded in theology." For himself, Malin holds that there is a point where certainty becomes uncertainty, and that the historian's aim should be to "extend the boundaries of the sense of certainty to the furthest possible limits." As for the individual and his personal philosophy or theology, "he is free to find whatever additional sense of certainty may be derived from other sources." Historical thinking should be a continuing process, an open system, free from the illusion of finality.

At the outset, the book suffers from having been privately printed by a lithoprint process which is quite unattractive. The author's method of annotation is really distressing. The bibliography in the appendix has only scattered page references and the insertion of mere names and dates of authors into the main body of the text is inadequate, to say the least. It is questionable taste, if not scholarship, to advert continually to one's own previous publications. To quote Dr. Malin himself, "If the provincialism of American historiography is to be remedied, a new outlook and methodology must be applied."

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE

The Catholic University of America

The World and Africa: An Inquiry Into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History. By W. E. Burghardt DuBois. (New York: Viking Press. 1947. Pp. xii, 276. $3.00.)

It is significant that this book on Africa should appear at a time when the nations of western Europe are called upon by an aroused public opinion to re-examine, to re-justify, and to humanize their policies in Africa. Subtitled "An Inquiry into the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History," the present volume is the most thought-provoking of the more than twelve scholarly works from the pen of the author. Two earlier attempts, *The Negro* (1915) and *Black Folk: Then and Now* (1939), have been made by DuBois to present the history of Africa and its people. Without doubt, *The World and Africa* represents the most successful of the three efforts in interpreting and portraying this land in the light of more than three centuries of modern world history.

The objectives of this latest effort are three-fold: to remind "readers in this crisis of civilization, of how critical a part Africa has played in human history, past and present, and how impossible it is to forget this and rightly explain the present plight of mankind" (p. vii); 2) to present the past contributions of African peoples to the development of world cultures; and 3) to indicate the close relationship between African development and future world peace and security. The author's thesis throughout the volume—a thesis noticeably strained at points—is that the basis of the collapse of western culture in the twentieth century is to be found in the flourishing slave trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to America. He seeks to demonstrate that both the destruction of African cultures and the "collapse of Europe" are results of more than three centuries of selfish, capitalistic enterprising in Africa. This, he asserts, is "not only a direct cause of our present plight, but will continue to cause trouble until we face the facts" (p. 2). He berates European imperialism in Africa, attributing bold contradictions in expression and action as they regard democracy, human rights, and evaluation of the personality to imperialistic philosophies. Fallacies in racial, economic, and pseudo-scientific justifications which have been developed to substantiate and perpetuate the imperialistic system are pointed out.

Approximately one-half of the volume is devoted to a treatment of the Negroid cultures which flourished in Africa between 4,000 B.C. and 1700 A.D., and the influences exerted by these cultures upon Greece, Rome, and Asia. Separate chapters appear on Negroid elements in Egyptian culture, in Ethiopia, on the West Coast, the Congo, and the Sudan regions. In some of these regions, DuBois finds evidence of "the greatest attempt in human history before the twentieth century to build a culture based upon peace and beauty, to establish a communism of industry and of distribution of goods and services according to human need" (p. 163).

These chapters bring together and interpret for the reader a mass of historical, sociological, and anthropological research on Africa which has been systematically neglected in historical syntheses of the past two decades.

The present volume—the chief purpose of which, the reader is ever aware, is to interpret rather than to present the facts of African history—is a valuable contribution to the subject. Although much of the material included has admittedly been drawn from earlier published works, the bibliography lists several unpublished items. Moreover, DuBois has written in this work the most complete and authoritative treatment of the Pan-African movement (embracing five Pan-African congresses) of the period from 1911 to 1945 which has yet come to the reviewer's notice. The volume forces the reader into an awareness of the link between Africa and the world in the pre-modern period and it indicates the bonds which must necessarily remain in the future.

BERNARD H. NELSON

Clark College
Atlanta

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

The Cycles of the Kings. By MYLES DILLON. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. vi, 124. $3.25.)

Eugene O'Curry, in his final lecture on the "Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History" concluded his investigations by making specific recommendations about how a history of ancient Ireland should be constructed. He demanded emphatically that the annals should provide the basis of such a work, advocating that these dry and meagre accounts be supplemented with collateral materials, if any intelligible history of those early times was to be achieved. He then added careful instruction about the cautious investigations and criticisms to which these materials should be subjected. Such a history as O'Curry visualized will be possible only when scholars come to a greater common agreement about obscure points now under discussion. That continued effort will be directed toward a clarification of these issues may depend largely upon the interest such investigations arouse.

Myles Dillon, in a laudable effort to focus attention on matter otherwise restricted to the original manuscripts, or to Celtic journals not too readily accessible, has presented to a larger public, as well as to Irish scholars, some of the comparatively unknown historical tales, which are O'Curry's "collateral material." Because they comprise a number of separate cycles centering about such familiar names as Conn of the Hundred Battles, Cormac MacAirt, Niall of the Nine Hostages, and others not so well known, the author has called these sagas *The Cycles of the Kings.* They cover a period from about 341 B.C. to the tenth century A.D. The tales have been chosen primarily for their literary value, and while their historical importance is yet to be determined, our growing conviction is that they cannot be ignored as a source for early social and political history. The author himself hesitates to accept sources relating to the history of Ireland prior to the tenth century, although he feels that a "fairly reliable tradition" may be established from the second century by future historians. Before that time, much research must be made. "Unpublished recensions of some of the texts must be published or examined," states the author's preface, "and the relation between the various recensions of a text and between different texts must be established, and a chronological order set up."

Professor Dillon's work is a noteworthy contribution to the study of these various texts. Accompanying the summarized tale in each cycle is much information on manuscript sources, translations, recensions, dates, traditions, and opinions of Celtic scholars such as Meyer and Thurneysen, all of which should prove invaluable to future students. The book represents an important step in the realization of O'Curry's objective.

RITA M. MURPHY

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Most Reverend Michael J. Curley, Archbishop of Baltimore and Washington and second Chancellor of the Catholic University of America, died on May 16. Archbishop Curley was the ninth successor of John Carroll in the historic See of Baltimore, a post which he held with honor and credit to the Church of America from his installation in November, 1921, to the time of his death. There are a good number of readers of the REVIEW who will attest the late archbishop's warm and emphatic welcome to them when they went to his residence on North Charles Street in Baltimore to use the riches of the Baltimore Cathedral Archives in their research projects in American Catholic history. Archbishop Curley had a deep appreciation of the difficulties of the historical scholar and he did all in his power, not only to place the unexcelled collection of documents of which he was the custodian at the disposal of responsible research workers, but as well, to give generously of the hospitality of his home to them while they were pursuing their labors.

In another respect the circle of American Catholic scholarship has lost a friend in that Archbishop Curley, in his capacity as Chancellor of the University, continued the enlightened and magnanimous policies of his predecessor, Cardinal Gibbons, in regard to the work of the University. During his occupancy of a quarter century of the primatial See of Baltimore the annual collections from that ecclesiastical jurisdiction were held to an exceedingly high level through enthusiastic letters each year from the archbishop to his people. Moreover, no professor or student of the University ever had reason to complain of any interference from the chancellor in a matter touching academic freedom.

Archbishop Curley was laid away on May 22 in the crypt of the historic Cathedral of the Assumption beside the remains of Cardinal Gibbons and six of the other eight Archbishops of Baltimore. He was through all his years in Baltimore a member of the American Catholic Historical Association.

The lack of satisfactory histories of the activities of the Church in the southern states is probably responsible for the failure of historians to appreciate the dominantly southern character of the Catholic Church in our country before the Civil War. While most of the Irish and German immigrants of the 1830's and 1840's had settled in the North and West, they were socially unimportant, and most of the Catholics enjoying some wealth and social position lived south of the Mason-Dixon line, with the three chief centers in Maryland, Kentucky, and Louisiana. Another neglected phase of this pre-Civil War history is the story of the non-immigrant Catholics during the period. Including such converts as Orestes

A. Brownson and Isaac T. Hecker, this group contributed most of the Catholics who had attained positions of leadership in social and business life.

The first Catholic postmaster general of the United States was James Campbell of Pennsylvania in the cabinet of Franklin Pierce. Although Campbell had an important career in public office, the only biographical sketch of any length is the brief sketch prepared by his son for the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia (Volume V). That sketch suggests the value of a full length biography of the father. Unfortunately, the personal papers of James Campbell seem to have been lost or to have perished, and all the efforts recently undertaken have failed to disclose any clue either to their destruction or to their present existence.

The Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs held its second annual meeting at the Catholic University of America on May 18. The Commission was inaugurated on June 23, 1946, at an initial meeting of thirty-five scholars from a large number of institutions. At the meeting on May 18 the members heard a report from Edward V. Stanford, O.S.A., the executive director, on his trip to Rome, where he represented the Commission at an international conference on April 7-14. At this conference the CCICA became a participating organization in the newly-founded Mouvement International des Intellectuels Catholiques, which has received the warm approval of the Holy See. The new officers of the CCICA for the ensuing year are: Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, president; Louis A. J. Mercier, Georgetown University, vice-president; Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., Catholic University of America, secretary, and Michael F. Calnan, Washington, D. C., treasurer. Father Stanford was likewise named vice-president of the graduate branch of Pax Romana at the Rome meeting, a group which has taken the name of the International Catholic Intellectual and Cultural Movement.

The annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences was held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia on April 18 and 19. The general topic of the meeting was "Progress and Prospects of the United Nations." Discussion at the meeting evidenced much concern regarding the use of the veto power in the United Nations Security Council. Several speakers attacked its use. In this regard, and in particular in the address of Mr. Burnham of New York University, there was evidenced considerable distrust of the role thus far played by the Soviet Union in the affairs of the United Nations. Speaking on the topic, "Human Rights Illustrated," Dr. Taraknath Das of New York University warned that the United Nations "may die a natural death if it gives active or silent consent to actions opposed to human rights." His address was notable for its insistence that education of all men to respect for rights is the only sound solution to all problems connected with the violation of rights throughout the world. The American Catholic Historical Association was represented by the Reverend Bartholomew F. Fair of St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook, as its delegate.

The present year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the Studies in American Church History of the Catholic University of America. These volumes on various phases of American Catholic history were products of the seminar of Monsignor Peter Guilday. The first four studies in this series to appear in 1922 were by Patrick W. Browne, now deceased, George B. Stratemeier, O.P., at present chaplain to the lay students at the Catholic University of America, Edward J. Hickey, now chancellor of the Archdiocese of Detroit, and J. Hugh O'Donnell, C.S.C., retired last year as president of the University of Notre Dame. The series ran to thirty-three volumes by 1942 under the exclusive editorship of Professor Guilday. Since that date three more volumes have been added under the editorship of Father John Tracy Ellis and further volumes have been planned. For readers of the REVIEW interested in these studies it should be mentioned that a considerable number of other works in American Catholic history have been written during the last twenty years at the Catholic University of America which do not appear in the Studies in American Church History.

The annual report for 1946 of Raymond B. Fosdick, President of the Rockefeller Foundation, shows a total sum of $2,633,677 appropriated for work in the social sciences. The report states that the Foundation "is under no illusions that its grants in this area do more than touch the edge of the problems which challenge us." The sum mentioned above is part of the total of $19,481,576, expended by the Foundation during 1946 for various purposes. Among the grants which will interest historians were one to the Royal Institute of International Affairs of London to enable Frank Walters to write a history of the League of Nations, another to the Council on Foreign Relations for William L. Langer of Harvard to write a history of American foreign policy from 1939 to 1946. In addition to a number of other grants in the social sciences, $216,000 were allotted to the Social Science Research Council, the Canadian Social Science Research Council, and the Johns Hopkins University, with an additional $350,000 appropriated in the social sciences for fellowships and grants-in-aid administered directly by the Rockefeller Foundation.

The Abraham Lincoln Association, First National Bank Building, Springfield, Illinois, solicits information concerning the present private ownership and location of any document composed by Abraham Lincoln, whether or not it has been published hitherto. Documents in public institutions are readily accessible, but many of those held by individuals have not been located to date. The preparation of a complete edition of Lincoln's writings from original sources will be greatly facilitated by information leading to procurement of photostatic copies of documents held by private individuals. Acknowledgment of assistance will be fully made upon publication.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission at Harrisburg has recently published two attractive illustrated booklets, *Conserving Pennsylvania's Historical Heritage* and *Pennsylvania at War, 1941-1945.* The former will especially interest the historian as it offers example of the splendid work being done under the auspices of the Commission to save the old mansions, landmarks, and documents of Pennsylvania's past.

Publication 2774 of the Department of State (European Series, 24) is entitled: *Making the Peace Treaties, 1941 to 1947.* It is a history of the making of the peace beginning with the Atlantic Charter, the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, and culminating in the drafting of peace treaties with Italy, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Finland. Besides the text, it contains a bibliography of source material, a number of maps, and fifteen appendixes that present documents. In all, there are 150 pages. It is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Price $.50.

Publication 2801 of the Department of State is a cumulative list from January 1, 1945 of *Publications of the Department of State.* It is available at the Government Printing Office.

Joseph M. Snee, S.J., of Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland, has made a collection of 327 councils and synods of the American Catholic Church. He is still lacking the texts of about 100 synods. It is his hope to make the collection complete in microfilm and later to publish it in a so-called Collectio Woodstockiensis which would follow the general lines of the *Collectio Lacensis.* He has prepared a mimeographed list of the missing synods. This can be obtained by anyone who suspects that he may be able to supply Father Snee with further texts.

Columbia University is devoting most of the income of its $1,509,389 gift from the late Frederic Bancroft to the purchase of materials dealing with American history, diplomacy, and international relations. Ten per cent of the income will be set aside as an annual prize for a book in one of these fields.

Xavier University, Cincinnati, begins graduate instruction in history in June, 1947. Paul S. Lietz, formerly at Loyola University in Chicago, has been named professor of Latin American history and will begin work at Xavier University in September, 1947.

Before the outbreak of World War II a group of summer session students of the University of Notre Dame had formed a Teachers' History Club for the purpose of comparing and exchanging methods, textbooks, reading lists, and the like used in teaching history in high schools. The elimination of the summer sessions at Notre Dame during the war-time influx of Navy students caused a suspension of the activities of the club. During Easter week a committee of former members of the club met at Notre Dame and formulated plans for a reorganization meeting to be held there July 11-12. The committee expects to revive the manifold activities of the club, including a quarterly *Bulletin,* an essay contest, and reading lists, which were found so helpful in high school teaching.

St. Meinrad Essays for March, 1947, presents the ten winning papers of an inter-seminary contest on characters of the Old Testament.

Peter Leo Johnson, professor of church history in St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, has signed a contract with the Wisconsin Historical Society to write the life of Archbishop John Martin Henni, who presided over the Church of Milwaukee from 1844 to 1881. This work will be one in a series on important Wisconsin figures whose lives the Wisconsin Historical Society feels are worthy of full length biographies.

John F. Bannon, S.J., head of the department of history in St. Louis University, has been named treasurer of the recently incorporated St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, the purpose of which is the publication of documents relating to the history of Spanish activity in the area of St. Louis.

Marshall Smelser, assistant professor of American history at the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, has accepted a position as assistant professor of colonial history in the University of Notre Dame beginning in September, 1947. Thomas E. Downey of the University of Notre Dame has been promoted to assistant professor of Latin American history and Aaron I. Abell has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of American history.

Robert C. Smith, who has been appointed to the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, gave an illustrated lecture on Brazil on May 14 at the Catholic University of America under the sponsorship of the Institute of Ibero-American Studies. Mr. Smith has recently returned from Brazil, where he spent several months on a Guggenheim fellowship.

Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, of the University of Pennsylvania, has been invited to teach this summer at the Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos of the University of Seville.

Manoel Cardozo, of the Department of History, Catholic University of America, will spend the summer in Europe, principally in the Iberian Peninsula, copying manuscript materials in libraries and archives.

Mr. George C. A. Boehrer, a graduate student in Ibero-American history at the Catholic University of America, has been granted a fellowship by the Department of State for research in Brazil.

"Christopher Columbus and the Franciscans" by Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., which originally appeared as an article in *The Americas* (January, 1947), has been issued in pamphlet form and is selling for $.50 per single copy or three copies for $1.00. Orders may be placed with Father Steck at Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois.

The first Assembly of Librarians of the Americas, presided over by Dr. Luther Evans, Librarian of Congress, was held in Washington during the months of May and June. Librarians from most of the Latin American countries attended.

The eighth Congreso Mexicano de Historia will meet in Chihuahua from September 16 to 26. Foreign scholars are invited to take part in the meetings. For further information, address the secretary, Dr. Jesús C. Romero, Apartado Postal 8150, México, D. F.

La Société d'Histoire Régionale de Québec with headquarters at Laval University has recently issued the first in a series of brochures entitled Cahiers d'Histoire. This first number, *Vieilles Maisons de Québec,* is by the Abbé Honorius Provost, archivist of the Society. Father Provost deals with three of the oldest and most interesting buildings in Quebec, viz., the Maison de Louis Jolliet, Maison Cadet, and the Hotel Louis XIV. The brochure is accompanied by illustrations.

The visit of Eugene Cardinal Tisserant to the United States during the current year has been the occasion for the renewal of the cardinal's many friendships among American historical scholars. Besides his own scholarly works His Eminence assisted many American scholars in their studies when he was prefect of the Vatican Library. Some of these friendships with American scholars began when these Americans visited Rome, and others were begun during the cardinal's two previous visits to this country, particularly while he was conferring with the librarians of the University of Michigan on the reorganization of the Vatican Library.

Because of the greatly reduced numbers of the community, St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough, has been transferred to the English province of the Cassinese Congregation of the Primitive Observance. It will become a dependent monastery attached to Prinknash Abbey. Father Bede Griffiths is the prior of the new community. Farnborough Abbey in Hampshire was founded in 1895 with the aid of exiled Empress Eugenie. She and her husband, Napoleon III, are buried in its crypt. The abbey belonged to the congregation of Solesmes. The distinguished liturgist, Dom Cabrol, was long its abbot.

A Tentative Dictionary of Medieval Spanish has recently appeared in two mimeographed volumes totaling 536 pages. It was compiled by R. S. Boggs, Lloyd Kasten, Hayward Keniston, and H. B. Richardson. It was distributed to subscribers at the modest price of $3.00 through Professor Boggs, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The work will render invaluable service to Spanish studies.

Under the auspices of the Institute of Ibero-American Studies, the fourth centenary of the birth of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was celebrated at the Catholic University of America on April 23 with an academic session at which Monsignor Edward B. Jordan, vice-rector of the University, Dr. David Rubio, Dr. Helmut A. Hatzfeld, Sr. Don Germán Baraibar, minister of the Spanish Embassy, and Sr. Don Héctor David Castro, ambassador of El Salvador, spoke.

In connection with the anniversary, the John K. Mullen Library prepared an exhibition of modern Spanish books, lent for the occasion by the Spanish Embassy. Among them were many elegantly printed and richly illustrated volumes, testimony of the deep interest in letters in present-day Spain. A fifty-three page pamphlet, *The Spanish Book,* a guide to the books published in Spain since 1939 and presented through the services of the Cultural Relations Committee, Madrid, was distributed during the exposition.

No. 14 (March) of the *Spanish Cultural Index,* published by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has long reports on activity in history, social sciences, philosophy and theology, Biblical studies, and fine arts.

An able article by Cyril Toumanoff on "Caesaro-Papism in Byzantium and Russia" appears in the June, 1946, issue of *Theological Studies.*

Guido Kisch contributes an interesting article on "Relations between Jewish and Christian Courts in the Middle Ages" to the Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume published by the American Academy for Jewish Research (New York, 1945). Richly documented, it makes its greatest contribution from the viewpoint of German law, which Professor Kisch knows so well.

Professor Louis Halphen, away from Paris during the war, wrote a little volume entitled: *Introduction à l'histoire* (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1946. 50 francs). In it the veteran historian proclaims his faith in history and repudiates skepticism and materialism. He believes that the historian must interpret the facts for the reader. Appendices give brief surveys of historiography and of works on methodology. The new Garraghan volume on method takes better care of our need of an introduction. But the Halphen booklet will help to complete the method shelf in the library.

Some of our readers may be interested in a volume on method for students of the sacred sciences, *Travail scientifique en disciplines ecclésiastiques* by G. Yelle, S.S. (Grand Séminaire de Montréal, Montreal, 1945).

The March number of *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* is devoted to the 250th anniversary of the parish of Trinity Church in the city of New York.

The sesquicentennial of the Augustinian Order in the United States has been marked by a brochure entitled *The Order of Saint Augustine in the United States of America, 1796-1946,* by Thomas F. Roland, O.S.A. This twenty-page pamphlet appeared originally in the March, 1947, issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia and sells for $.25. Orders may be placed at Villanova College, Villanova, Pennsylvania.

The centenary of Catholic beginnings in Walla Walla was celebrated May 4-6. At a pontifical Mass offered by Bishop Charles D. White in St. Patrick's Church, Walla Walla, Father William Lyle Davis, S.J., head of the department of history in Gonzaga University, Spokane, and one of the advisory editors of the REVIEW, preached the jubilee sermon. It has been published in the *Inland Register.* Father Davis traced the history of missionary days in the Northwest. Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet came from Montreal in September, 1847, to be the Bishop of Walla Walla. On May 31, 1850 he was transferred to the new See of Nesqually. The bishopric of Walla Walla was surpressed on July 29, 1853. In Yakima the centenary of the arrival of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the Yakima Valley will be observed this fall.

The Sisters of Saint Joseph in Philadelphia have published an elegant illustrated brochure in commemoration of their centenary.

Documents: Deux sermons inédits de S. Fulgence. J. Leclercq *(Revue Bénédictine,* Vol. LVI, 1945).—La vocazione alla Compagnia di Gesù del P. Antonio Possevino da una relazione inedita del medesimo. Giuseppe Castellani *(Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu,* Vol. XIV, No. I-II). Instructions pour les Pères de la Province Gallo-Belge chassés de France en 1764. Guillaume Kratz *ibid.).*—Instructions for the Confessors of *Conquistadores* issued by the Archbishop of Lima in 1560. Ed. by A. Tibesar *(Americas,* Apr.).—Un inventaire des Archives de la Propagande (4). F. Combaluzier *(Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* [*Nouvelle revue de science missionnaire*], Vol. III, No. 2).—Una lettera del Kraus al de Rossi sopra il "Kulturkampf." Antonio Ferrua *(Aevum,* Vol. XX, Fasc. 3-4—Two letters of the Reverend Joseph Salzmann to the treasurer of the Ludwigmissionsverein, Munich, tr. by A. C. Breig *(Salesianum,* Apr.).

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Por un concepto integral de la filosofía de la historia. Juan Botero Restrepo *(Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana,* Aug., 1946).

Acton, Creighton, and Lea: A Study in History and Ethics. Andrew Fish *(Pacific Histor. Rev.,* Feb.).

Symbol and Myth: Must there be but one *form* of democracy? Dorothy Thompson *(Commonweal,* Apr. 25).

History and Educational Reform. N. E. Lee *(Historical Studies,* Vol. III, no 9).

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VOLUME XXXIII No. 3

The Catholic Historical Review

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